S. HRG. 98-1283

MEDIA VIOLENCE

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUVENILE JUSTICE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

OVERSIGHT ON ALLEGED MEDIA VIOLENCE AS IT MAY AFFECT CHILDREN

OCTOBER 25, 1984

Serial No. J-98-147

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

41-069 O WASHINGTON : 1985

S521-61

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MEDIA VIOLENCE

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1984

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUVENILE JUSTICE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:07 a.m., in room SD-226, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Arlen Specter (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Staff present: Mary Louise Westmoreland, chief counsel; Eva Carney, counsel; Tracy McGee, chief clerk

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ARLEN SPECTER, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUVENILE JUSTICE

Senator SPECTER. The Juvenile Justice Subcommittee hearing will begin. This morning—if I may have everyone's attention, except the attention of the children; they need not pay attention. [Laughter.]

The hearing this morning of the Juvenile Justice Subcommittee is on the topic of alleged media violence as it may affect children. This hearing follows a long line of hearings which have been held by this subcommittee on a variety of related topics.

We have not taken up the question of media violence in the course of the past 3⅓ years because of our concern about the first amendment rights and the aspect of chilling those rights and so forth, but finally, we have decided that we ought to take it up in a more deliberate way during the recess period when we could study it at a little greater length.

In 1982, the National Mental Health Institute study of all the literature which has explored the alleged connection between the viewing of media violence and aggressive and violent behavior in children concluded that there was a connection, and that a connection had, indeed, been documented between media violence and aggression in children.

In September 1984, the Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence concluded that, "the evidence is becoming overwhelming that just as witnessing violence in the home may contribute to normal adults and children learning and acting out violent behavior, violence on TV and movies may lead to the same result."

The task force further said that their networks and their affiliates and cable stations have, "major responsibility for reducing and controlling the amount of violence shown on television."

This is obviously a very complicated subject and it is well accepted that television and movies have enormous influence in molding the ideas of individuals and in motivating and in triggering a certain behavior pattern, and following the Attorney General's task force report in September of this year, it seemed to this subcommittee that we ought to be taking a look at this issue, and we are going to be doing so today.

We would like to call, first off, Ms. Mary Ann Banta, who is a teacher at the University of the District of Columbia Early Childhood and Learning Center, and she is accompanied here by a number of her students. Ms. Banta, you have suggested that two of your students come forward to give us some ideas as to their own sense of this subject. They are 5 and of tender years, obviously, but if you would ask those two young ladies to come forward. It is dangerous to call anyone a girl, however young.

We are pleased and honored to have with us today the famous Captain Kangaroo, Mr. Bob Keeshan. If you would step forward, Captain Keeshan, we would appreciate that. You have some very pronounced views on this subject garnered from his experience on television and also from his work and experience generally.

Ms. Banta, I understand that you teach 3 to 6 years olds at the University of the District of Columbia Early Childhood and Learning Center and have had substantial insights from what you have observed the children react to from what they have seen on television.

Without any further introduction, let me thank you for being here and tell you that your full statement will be made a part of the record and we look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF A PANEL CONSISTING OF MARY ANN BANTA, TEACHER, UNIVERSITY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, EARLY CHILDHOOD LEARNING CENTER, ACCOMPANIED BY HER STUDENTS, WASHINGTON, DC; AND ROBERT J. KEESHAN, "CAPTAIN KANGAROO," NEW YORK, NY

Ms. BANTA. Thank you, Senator. I am happy to be here this morning, and I am sure the children are happy to be here with me.

The relationship between violence on television and aggressive or violent behavior of children who watch television has been long debated. Perhaps it is long debated because of how the topic is phrased and who is doing the talking.

To date, it has been mainly carried on by researchers, by prestigious scholars who have read the research and by the broadcast industry. I am here to share my experience as a teacher who spent the last 20 years, up to 5 days a week, 8 hours a day, with young children, and the debate has been carried on on the level that is not really where the children are. I have the advantage of listening to the children, listening to them for long periods of time.

Before we really start the discussion, though, you really have to look at the scope of the problem; 213 billion hours were spent watching television; 65 percent of our people cannot even remember time before television. By the time the average child enters kindergarten, they have watched enough television to have a B.A. degree. They have a B.A. degree in television before they even start

school, and Saturday morning television is the most violent time. Researchers tell us that over 75 percent of what we know is associated with what we have seen.

Now, I am here to tell you that my children are not violent and they are not even terribly agressive, but I cannot say the same about the uninvited and unenrolled characters who show up in my classroom. The list includes "Bat Man," "Spiderman," "Wonder Woman," "Superman," "Kung Fu," "Evil Knevil," "The Duke Boys," "The Hulk," "The Smurfs," "Mr. T," "He-Man," and "Aqua Dog." They are not necessarily lacking in aggressiveness and nonviolence.

You have to understand this about children. An essential tool of their learning is imitating behavior of those around them. They learn by imitation and they practice their imitation in their play. Imitation and play are essential to their development.

It is through their play that the assortment of television characters invade my classroom and every other classroom where children are free to play. It is because of the nature of these characters who populate children's television that the children's play can become aggressive and even violent, and then I, as kind of an innocent bystander, become a victim of that violence. Consequently, a part of my teaching time is spent combating the unnatural aggressiveness in my children's play.

There are those who say that children are naturally aggressive. Of course, they are. They imitate our behavior. The difference between the behavior of that kind of agressiveness and now is that it is now being reenforced by the visual image of television over, and over, and over again.

As a result of "Bat Man," I had to deal with Pow! Bam! The receiver of those imaginary hits that were not imaginary did not really think that they were imaginary. Young children have been well known to climb. "Spiderman" had them climbing straight up walls. "Wonder Woman" brought equality of the sexes. Little girls started spinning around and flying up on and down on imaginary foes, again, who might not have been imaginary. "Superman" had people flying. "Kung Fu" had feet flying. My defense, keep your feet on the floor.

"Aqua Dog" is one of my favorites. The children were swimming around in imaginary water barking, growling, and snapping at one another. "Evil Knevil" in retrospect was not so bad. At least they lined up the cars neatly. They built the ramps and they flew the cars over them. Suddenly solid wooden cars started to disintegrate before my eyes. I was wondering what was happening. My team teacher told me. It was called "The "Dukes of Hazzard." As a result of the "Dukes of Hazzard," the driving skills in the block corner disintegrated completely so we had to introduce things like losing your driver's license, impounding cars. I have a whole collection of little cars in my pocket most of the time.

So each fall I await with eager anticipation "The New Fall Lineup." What defense tactics am I going to have to plan this year to conteract the activities of our latest heroes?

But what happens to the children? As they get order, the habit of watching, replicating, and imitating is well established. The

problem of adolescent violence is that the violence is real. It is not imaginary.

Researchers, broadcasters, and Government officials have difficulty in deciding if children learn behavior from what they view on television. The teachers who carefully observe the behavior over a period of years can see the effects of television on their children.

Why is it that mothers, teachers, child psychiatrists who actually work with children, and some pediatricians can see the link and other people cannot? Perhaps it is because the way the question is stated: "Study Links TV Viewing, Agression" or "Study found on evidence that television violence was causally related to the development of aggressive behavior patterns."

Think about the words: "violence," "aggressive." The words evoke strong feelings and they wave red flags. They allow people to take stands which sound relatively reasonable. The words move into the theater where the television industry is most comfortable, body counts, crisis, disaster, horror, murder, and mayhem. Just as the television industry chooses to emphasize aggression, violence, and action/adventure, they have also centered on this in the research. The fact is television affects how we behave.

While it is relatively easy for me to chronicle the characters who have a negative impact, it is much, much more difficult to point out the positive things that happen because children watch television. But believe me they really are there.

If television does not influence behavior, why are the broadcasters selling time? How much does the time cost during the Superbowl or Saturday morning? Why do politicians buy time right before an election?

I think there are lots of remedies. My favorite because I am a teacher is to help children develop critical viewing skills. Education is a child's first line of defense. Children must know what television can do and what it cannot do. What it can do to them and what they can do back to it. This is best done by television itself. The broadcast industry creates problems in my classroom. It creates problems for children, parents, and society. These problems have to be solved and they have to be solved with the industry's active participation. Critical viewing skills are best taught on television. If you cause the problem, please be part of the solution.

Obviously, there are lots of other partial solutions to the problem. Taken together, they may diminish the negative and accentuate the positive effects of television, but first, before this can happen, we have got to admit and accept the fact that television affects everyone's behavior. Having admitted that, then we can productively discuss a national policy on television for children.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Ms. Banta.

Could you specify some child's activities which you think were directly related to what the child had recently seen on television?

Ms. BANTA. I think the driving is probably the best example. The way they see the driving on the "Dukes of Hazzard" and the way the cars fly and jump is probably the best example.

Senator SPECTER. What do they do to replicate that?

Ms. BANTA. They drive like mad.

Senator SPECTER. Now, you are talking about children older than 5, of course.

Ms. BANTA. Pardon?

Senator SPECTER. What age bracket are you talking about?

Ms. BANTA. These are 3-, 4- and 5-year-olds. They have cars in their block corner and they drive them. Before the "Dukes of Hazzard," they used to build really nice roads and drive the cars on the roads. Now, they have the tendency not to build the roads, to just drive like mad.

Senator SPECTER. How do they drive them? What do you mean by that?

Ms. BANTA. Little cars.

Senator SPECTER. They drive them with their hands?

Ms. BANTA. Right. Only now the tendency is for the car to leave the hand and fly through the air. You can see the disadvantage, that is, if you are on the receiving end of the car.

Senator SPECTER. Why do you conclude that they are doing that because they have seen "Dukes of Hazzard"?

Ms. BANTA. Because the driving has changed since the "Dukes of Hazzard", and it was noticeable. I did not watch the "Dukes of Hazzard" when it first started, and I noticed a change and asked what is happening.

Senator SPECTER. Do the children ever mention "Dukes of Hazzard"?

Ms. BANTA. Many times, yes, because you see another thing is that these characters come to school in another way. They come to school on their lunch boxes. There are pictures of these characters on their lunch boxes. So obviously, when they come in in the morning, they come with the character. At lunch time the character shows up again on their lunch box.

Senator SPECTER. Give me an example of a character on a lunch box.

Ms. BANTA. Again, the "Dukes of Hazzard," "Knight Rider," "He-Man."

Senator SPECTER. And you had said in your testimony that the children kick because you think they have seen "Kung Fu"?

Ms. BANTA. Absolutely, because, you know, there was a special kind of kick that "Kung Fu" had. It is not a natural give them a good kick.

Senator SPECTER. I ask you these questions in some detail, Ms. Banta, because there are controversies as to what actually causes behavior and whether seeing this on television actually is a triggering factor, and you conclude that it is?

Ms. BANTA. Absolutely.

Senator SPECTER. What other illustrations come to your mind where something has appeared on television and the child may act out in that specific way?

Ms. BANTA. Let me give you a positive example.

Senator SPECTER. Fine.

Ms. BANTA. I came in one morning and the children were talking about and making monsters. Now, monsters are usually negative. They usually imitate them in a disruptive kind of way, and this was terribly positive.

I asked them what they were doing. They said they had seen "Star Wars" and the "Empire Strikes Back" on television. They had not. I knew it was not on. It was still in the theaters.

I asked one of the other teachers, and she said they had aired a program the night before that showed how the characters were made, how the monsters—the children's interpretation—how the monsters were made.

They were so very, very interested in that that they copied the things that were made and how they were made and they talked about monsters in a way that I had not heard before. So as a direct result of what they had seen, they carried that over into the classroom, into what I concluded to be a very positive kind of way. So there was a direct link.

And the interesting part about it was that not all of the children had seen the program. It only takes a few children to see something on television for them action or what they had seen to infiltrate to all of the other children.

Senator SPECTER. So when only a few of the children have seen it, you are suggesting that they pass it on to the other children either by word of mouth or by example?

Ms. BANTA. Yes; which makes it very difficult for the parent who is effectively regulating television. At 8 in the morning, I can tell who saw what program. By 10, the information has passed around.

Senator SPECTER. You talk about the positive benefits of television as well as the negative aspects of television. Could you expand just a bit more on what you have seen positive from television that has been brought to your attention from your students?

Ms. BANTA. It is very difficult, and I will agree with the researchers on this, to know what is exactly the effect of television and what is the effect of real-life experiences. Our children are tremendously familiar with with all of the characters of this year's election. They know them, not because they have seen them, but because they have met them on television.

They know who these people are, and I think that's important. Most of the people in public life now are people young children know and can talk about with some degree of interest in education.

Senator SPECTER. And they have an awareness of the specific personalities of the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates?

Ms. BANTA. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. Do they go so far, and I am not asking you what their opinions are, but do they go so far as to have opinions about the candidates?

Ms. BANTA. Absolutely. In fact, if I were running for office in 10 years, I would start with this crowd.

Senator SPECTER. You would not classify the debates as children's programs, or would you?

Ms. BANTA. Well, I will tell you that we have had long discussions about the Presidential debates. The children were very interested in it.

Senator SPECTER. They watched them and followed the action generally?

Ms. BANTA. They were on a little late, but most of the children came in and said that they had seen parts of it or at least—again,

it is the difference of seeing it really and then seeing the newsclips, but yes.

And I think that is where there is a difference. I see television as a wonderful source of information for young children, and it really is because you have to bear in mind, my children cannot read, not because there is any problem with them, it is just that it takes a while to learn.

So they cannot pick up a book and get information. Apart from their parents, television is their major source of information.

Senator SPECTER. You have brought your entire class here. You have about 20 students here?

Ms. BANTA. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. And you have said that there are a couple of your children, Courtney and Crystal Snowden, who are 5-year-old twins, who have expressed themselves on some of their own television and movie viewing habits.

Now, I am reluctant to put anyone on the spot but more so to put 5-year olds on the spot, but I just had a word or two, Captain Kangaroo and I have with Courtney and Crystal Snowden.

Crystal, would you feel comfortable enough in telling us what you watch on television?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. What do you watch on television, young lady?

CRYSTAL. The Dukes of Hazzard.

Senator SPECTER. How do you like it?

CRYSTAL. Fine.

Senator SPECTER. What do you find interesting about the Dukes of Hazzard?

CRYSTAL. They jump.

Senator SPECTER. They jump, with their cars, you mean?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. What else do you find interesting about the Dukes of Hazzard besides their jumping with their cars?

CRYSTAL. They chase.

Senator SPECTER. They jump and they chase. Anything else that you like about Dukes of Hazzard?

CRYSTAL. And they find stuff.

Senator SPECTER. What kind of stuff do they find?

CRYSTAL. About papers

Senator SPECTER. What kind of papers do they find?

CRYSTAL. Stuff that they write.

Senator SPECTER. Crystal, when you see this on television, what do you think about it? Does that make you do anything like you see on television?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. You think it does. What sorts of things do you do that you see on television?

CRYSTAL. Sometimes we play when the Dukes of Hazzard come on.

Senator SPECTER. You play like the Dukes of Hazzard do. Do you jump and chase like you see on the Dukes of Hazzard?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. What do you do that with? Your cars, with your model cars?

CRYSTAL. We do that on our grandma's sofa.

Ms. BANTA. That is where you are watching television.

Senator SPECTER. Do you learn things from television, Crystal? Do you think television helps you out to learn things?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. Can you think of any things that you learn on television that you would like to tell us about?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. Like what?

CRYSTAL. I do the 20-minute workout. [Laughter.]

Senator SPECTER. You learn from television how to workout. You do exercise? Is that how you keep your slim young figure? [Laughter.]

Courtney, we do not want to leave you out, young lady. Do you watch television very much, Courtney?

COURTNEY. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. What programs do you watch?

COURTNEY. Pryor's Place.

Senator SPECTER. What do you see on that show?

COURTNEY. Pryor's home.

Senator SPECTER. What sorts of things do you learn from watching television.

COURTNEY. Do not go to school. [Laughter.]

Senator SPECTER. Do you learn some good things from watching television?

COURTNEY. No.

Senator SPECTER. Do you talk to your classmates—you are here today with Ms. Banta and about 20 of your classmates from the school room. Do you talk to your classmates about what you see on television?

COURTNEY. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. Most everybody in your class spends time watching television?

COURTNEY. No.

Senator SPECTER. Some do not?

COURTNEY. Some.

Senator SPECTER. About how many hours a day do you watch television, Courtney?

COURTNEY. I do not know.

Senator SPECTER. Crystal, how many hours a day does Courtney watch television?

CRYSTAL. Twenty. [Laughter.]

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Courtney and Crystal. You are really very nice to tell us about your activities. We do not want to press you unduly on that. That is very interesting.

I would like to welcome Mr. Bob Keeshan who has gained national and international fame as Captain Kangaroo. Mr. Keeshan has had an extraordinary career on television. He started off with Bob Smith on the Howdy Dowdy program, and from that association was born Clara Bell the Clown, a role that Mr. Keeshan played for some 5 years, and then he perfected Corny the Clown, and in 1955, Mr. Keeshan created Captain Kangaroo, and has been a very major participant for children's television now for almost 30 years.

We welcome you here, Mr. Keeshan. We look forward to your testimony and your own insights as to the impact of television on children.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT J. KEESHAN, "CAPTAIN KANGAROO," NEW YORK, NY

Mr. KEESHAN. Thank you very much, Senator. I am delighted to have this opportunity and be with you today. I never thought I would feel too old to testify before a Senate committee but I do this morning, and it is a very difficult act to follow. Out of the mouths of babes, and I think that certainly is confirmed this morning.

The most basic undertaking of any society is the nurturing of its young. This springs from the instinct for survival, the strong instinct in the individual and a strong instinct in society. A society which intelligently attends to the nurturing of its young has a promising future. The society which fails in this basic task will spend its resources restraining its misfits and building detention centers to warehouse its failures.

To be successful in the nurturing process, society must be concerned about the many influences affecting the development of its young. The family, our primary unit for nurturing, must have the support of the total of society if it is to perform its task. We must provide for the education of the young through the institutions dedicated to that purpose and we must calculate the effects of other segments of society on the development of our children. All of us in society must weigh how our private actions and our public and corporate policies affect the youth of the Nation and therefore its future.

Television is a great influence on our young people. It provides a wide range of experiences. It provides more information for most children than the public library. For some children, television provides more information than the schools. Television influences our young in developing attitudes and is one of the Nation's most powerful forces in the imparting of values to young people from toddler to teen and beyond.

Many leaders in our society have called upon broadcasters to recognize the impact of the total of their programming on the Nation's youth and to accept responsibility for the effects of their products upon our young people. I believe that broadcasters, commercial and public, network and independent, must appreciate the impact of their programming on the Nation's young people, and therefore, on the future of the Republic.

This is not a responsibility which we assign to broadcasters and not to others. I believe every segment of our society government, industry, business, including broadcasters, must be accountable for the effects of their actions upon the Nation's young. The question is not whether broadcasters be treated as trustees of the airwaves or as private enterprise in a public business. Everyone of us, individual or corporation, public or private, is subject to the principle of accountability. As an automobile manufacturer is held accountable for the safety of his products so must a broadcaster be held accountable for the safety of his products. Children "are" special, and

if we are to nurture our young and provide for our future we must recognize this special condition which obtains.

Having said that, I must also say to you that I would be distressed if the question of any connection between media violence and agression in children was to be addressed simply as a question of broadcaster responsibility. It is far from being a simple question. The journalist, H.L. Mencken, told us that "to every complex question there is a simple answer, and it is wrong."

There are many forces in a child's life determining how television is used by that child. How do we inform parents that each child brings a special range of experience to a television program, and they may be affected in a quite different way than another child, even another child of the same age. We must educate parents so that they may realize that values are imparted to a child through television viewing and that programs must be as carefully selected as real life friends and as carefully screened as other influences upon the child.

Perhaps the greatest danger in media violence results from what I call the "immunization factor." A steady diet of television viewing exposes our young people to considerable violence, dramatic violence, some of it gratuitous, but much of it appropriate to the dramatic portrayal, and real-life violence as in the television news. This diet of violence has, in my opinion, created an immunity to the horror of violence in a nation of viewers over the last quarter-century.

Our young people whose view of the world is most influenced by television viewing may have come to believe that violence is a more casual part of life than, in fact, it actually is and accept violence and its effects as apart of our culture. The young child may even come to believe that the use of violence is justified in problem solving. It's a difficult lesson to unlearn, and we know that many never succeed in that "unlearning" process.

If we have become immune to the horrors of violence, if we accept vicarious violent experiences, we may come to accept the real thing with ease. Our nightmares will then inhabit our days.

I believe that these are proper concerns for an enlightened society. The safety of our children will affect the quality of our future. As the psychologist Alberta Seigel has said, "we have 20 years to save civilization, the time it takes to raise a generation." We begin the next 20 years with our concern today.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Keeshan. With respect to your own activities and the kinds of programs that you put on on television, would you describe for us the theme and what you sought to accomplish in your own performance over the past 30 plus years?

Mr. KEESHAN. We have tried from a writing, production, and a performance point of view always to treat the child as an intelligent human being of potentially good taste to do what we can as producers to cater to that intelligence, to help to develop that good taste.

Now, that is across a broad spectrum of human development. It may have to do with something very specifically related to the curriculum, something in terms of mathematical skills or literary skills or it may have to do with living habits which I believe, par-

ticularly with my audience of 3, 4, 5, and 6 years of age is particularly important.

These children, as was pointed out by Ms. Banta, are great modelers of behavior that they encounter in real life and in television. In fact, it has been indicated quite clearly that children of this age have a great deal of difficulty distinguishing between television and real life, and therefore, role modeling, we believe on television, is extremely important. So the teaching of courtesies and the accommodation that we all must learn as a well-adjusted human being in our society come at this age. They do not come at 18 and 20 years of age.

Senator SPECTER. What is the earliest age that a child watches television in your experience?

Mr. KEESHAN. Children are different. I do not think it is possible really to say a child of 2 should be watching television or may be watching television. There are 2-year-olds and there are 2-year-olds, and they come with a wide range of experiences and different stages of development. So the chronologic age is always not an indicator of the child's interest.

But I know from my experience that we do have children as young as 1½ years or 14 months watching the program and gaining something of it. Of course, obviously, a child of 4 or 5 years of age is going to be much more involved in the program and gain a great deal more than a child that young.

Senator SPECTER. Well, you had started and said that 3, 4, 5, and six. I was interested to know, and you would peg it at perhaps as early as 14 months some children are able to receive from television messages which are developmental in their own character.

Mr. KEESHAN. I think that many of the scientists who have studied this problem have indicated that that is a fact and that messages are received very early on by television viewers.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Keeshan, you say that some of the things you try to do would be to give some training in mathematics. Could you illustrate how you have done that when you put your programs on?

Mr. KEESHAN. Well, you probably are familiar with my friend the bunny rabbit. He certainly is very good at counting carrots. Mr. Moose is very good at counting pingpong balls, and many variables on this exercise. I see your young staff smiling behind you recalling days when they counted along with bunny rabbit and they counted along with Mr. Moose. So those are obvious examples.

We had a series last year, for example, teaching language skills, very, very fundamental, very rudimentary. We dealt with the Spanish language and certain expressions and terms, using familiar characters, even characters like Santa Claus and so on, teaching fundamental language to young people, not so much to teach the language or to give them any kind of proficiency in the language, but to make children aware at this age that there are languages, different languages spoken in this Nation and in this world and that it is important that we be proficient in languages.

Senator SPECTER. So you have the languages for language skills and you also have the languages for tolerance lines, to understand that there are many different lines.

Mr. KEESHAN. Oh, absolutely.

Senator SPECTER. Well, I wanted to start off with the positive aspect as to what you have done on your programming before asking you for your own judgment as to what you see as negative aspects of television, if you see negative aspects?

Mr. KEESHAN. Oh, yes, I think I have been rather vocal in the past in asserting that there are negative aspects to it, and I pointed out before the difference in children and I think it is very important that we recognize there are differences in children.

Some children are differently affected by the same television program, and that has to do with the experiences, the personal experiences that they bring to the viewing of a television program.

An extreme case of that was a woman who told me that her children were not permitted to watch the Donna Reed program. The Donna Reed program, if you recall, was rather sanguine, rather saccharine almost, the sweet program, nice mommy, nice daddy, nice children, and relatively affluent home.

She was a psychologist. Her children were waiting adoption in a home, and they were 12 or 13 years of age. They knew they would never be adopted. So when they brought that experience to watching this program, they were made aware of all the things of which they were deprived, and so through their personal experience, this program, of all programs, led them to aggressive behavior.

My point is that it is more than broadcaster responsibility, and I believe very clearly in broadcaster responsibility to close that circle a great responsibility on the part of the parents and others who have charge of a child's television viewing because they are the ones who best know the child and can best interpret whether the child is positively or negatively affected by viewing a particular program.

Senator SPECTER. I want to come back to the parental aspect in just a moment, but I would like to pursue, for just another moment or two, the question of negative aspects. You have heard Crystal and Courtney talk about Dukes of Hazzard and as they characterized it, jumping, chasing, et cetera.

What is your professional judgment, your evaluation of that kind of a show, not picking out Dukes of Hazzard specifically but that kind of programming in terms of impact on young children?

Mr. KEESHAN. Well, I think it has to have an impact. I think it has to develop attitudes. I think it has a great impact on what I refer to as the "immunization factor." I think that children are watching violent behavior, watching violence used in the solution of problems, and violence is not something that is used in television programs merely by the evil person, by the villian, but it is used very often by the good guys.

The most viewed program in the United States today by juveniles is a program called the A-Team. I am not talking about the Saturday morning A-Team which is an animated version. I am talking about the program which was designed for adults in the evening.

I do not think the producers of that program necessarily want children to be watching it, but they are watching, and watching in great numbers.

Now, I can watch that program, not too easily, but I can watch that program with tongue in cheek and see the humor with which

it is done because I have a developed sense of humor as most people above 10 or 12 years of age would have.

But a child who is 7 or 8 years of age does not have the developed sense of humor and is going to walk away with an impression of great violence and violence as a very effective and proper way to react in situations. At the sandbox age it is difficult to learn to solve problems with accommodation which we all must learn eventually.

Those games of cooperation which are so important to the developing child of 3 and 4 and 5 years of age are as popular as the games of aggression today. The games that children play today seem to be much more aggressive, and I am sure Ms. Banta, like many, many teachers of preschool children, has noted a more aggressive behavior in solving problems, and I think that that is probably the greatest influence.

And I think all of us have to be concerned about this period of development on the part of the 3 and 4 and 5 year old which is the greatest stage of human development. Never again in our lives will we develop and learn as much as we do at this age.

And I think it becomes then necessary for us to unlearn a lot of what we have learned.

Senator SPECTER. What time does the A-Team go on? 8 o'clock?

Mr. KEESHAN. I think it is 8 or 8:30.

CRYSTAL. 8 o'clock.

Mr. KEESHAN. 8 o'clock the experts tell me.

What do you think of Mr. T?

COURTNEY. I like him.

Senator SPECTER. What do you like about Mr. T, Courtney?

COURTNEY. The haircut.

Senator SPECTER. Courtney, would you like to have your haircut like Mr. T?

COURTNEY. No.

Senator SPECTER. Anything else you like about the A-Team, Courtney?

COURTNEY. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. Tell us about what you think of that show, if you would, please.

COURTNEY. Murdock is crazy.

Senator SPECTER. Does that amuse you that he is crazy?

COURTNEY. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. What do you think about that? Would you act crazy like he does or would that teach you how not to act?

COURTNEY. No.

Senator SPECTER. The problem with my question and answer was that I violated the rule. I asked you two questions. [Laughter.]

Would you act like he does when he acts crazy?

COURTNEY. No.

Senator SPECTER. So that craziness teaches you how not to act?

COURTNEY. Right.

Senator SPECTER. Crystal, how do you like Mr. T?

CRYSTAL. I like his driving.

Senator SPECTER. What do you like about his driving?

CRYSTAL. He jumps.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Keeshan, coming to the issue of parents checking programming, and I think at 8 o'clock hopefully, the parents are in the house and they can regulate what the children see, but what do you do with television during the daytime? So many of our children are latchkey children, as we have had so many hearings on, who come home by themselves and they turn on television, network and see soaps, and it is practically like opening up some of the X-rated magazines. How do you handle that?

Mr. KEESHAN. I think it is a very great problem, and I think it is a problem for parents. I think it is a shame that we do not have programs that provide the kind of care that is more than merely custodial, and unfortunately so many of our latchkey children today, we have latchkey children today becase we do not have programs for the children of working mothers. It is a very great problem.

More than two-thirds of the women of this country who have preschool children are outside the home workforce today, and we certainly do need adequate programs because when children are merely left with a key around their neck to turn the key in the door, unlock the door and come home, what else is there for them to do, really, other than watch television.

Most parents like them in the safety of the home rather than out playing freely in a play area unsupervised under those circumstances, and actually it is not just the children of working parents. There are many, many mothers who are in the home in constant attendance with the children who find television a very convenient babysitter.

As long as parents use it as a babysitter rather than selecting the programs carefully, we are going to have a misuse of the medium.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Keeshan, you put it eloquently in your prepared statement where you talk about the networks or television generally being trustees of the airwaves or participants in a private enterprise system.

Are the networks under a greater obligation than they assume? Or stated more directly, do the networks do the right thing as trustees of the airwaves in putting on the programming in the afternoon which children have access to which depict in the most specific terms adult bedroom behavior?

Mr. KEESHAN. I have always felt that networks and independent stations have a greater obligation to supply programming for special audiences of which children certainly are one group.

Unfortunately, the attitudes toward regulating stations and licensees has changed drastically in the last 5 years. Before this present administration, the change began, and as a result, in essense, the marketplace operates today in making decisions as to what programming is done and what programming is not done.

And when the marketplace is the principal determinant of what programming is done, we will never find children well served, because they are not an attractive audience for advertisers. They do not provide the kind of revenue that stations with a limited resource, that is, hours in the day, can more effectively use that limited resource for adult programming and therefore provide a greater income for their stockholders.

And I think that that is really what has occurred in the last few years is that the marketplace policy of our Government has dictated a different kind of programming, and therefore, to the neglect of young people.

Senator SPECTER. The marketplace is a fine determinant for many aspects of our society. We try to find ways to express opinions, but the marketplace hardly applies, as you say, to children who are not of age or competency to make selections. The marketplace requires people to have the competency to make selections.

Courtney and Crystal, do you watch television in the afternoon?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. Do you see the soaps?

CRYSTAL. What?

Senator SPECTER. Do you see the soapbox operas? Do you see the love stories on television, Crystal?

COURTNEY. No.

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. What do you see, Crystal?

CRYSTAL. The twins on there.

Senator SPECTER. What is it that Crystal says she sees, Ms. Banta?

Ms. BANTA. The twins, the ones that live upstairs.

Senator SPECTER. Do you see them on television in the afternoon when you come home from school?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. Is your mother home or your father home in the afternoon when you come home from school?

CRYSTAL. My mother.

Senator SPECTER. And does she regulate what you see on television?

CRYSTAL. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. OK. That takes care of the soaps for you, Crystal. [Laughter.]

Mr. Keeshan, aside from the television networks, and, Ms. Banta, I would like your view on this as well, what we now have is cable television. And we now have x-rated programs on cable television.

This subcommittee has held extensive hearings on the subject of child abuse, pornography, and the effects of pornography on children. We offered some legislation which was signed by the President to tighten up the penalties and take out some of the loopholes.

But what do we do about the X-rated cable where children come home and can flip on, and it is not like the soaps, it is very different, and here we deal with, though this entire question, some very fundamental issues of first amendment freedoms of expression.

Mr. Keeshan, how do we handle cable television and the X-rated programs which are available for latchkey children who come home 3:30 in the afternoon, flip on the channel and see the most lurid kinds of programming?

Mr. KEESHAN. You want me to tell you how to handle it?

Senator SPECTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEESHAN. Wow.

Senator SPECTER. Well, I am not looking for the final answer but your suggestions.

Mr. KEESHAN. Well, obviously this is a qestion which is a very complex question and which the committee is struggling with and many people in this Nation are struggling with. I do not think there is an easy answer.

I would tell you that I think it is appropriate and there have been suggestions that there be some way of locking out access to the cable services. I think that would be helpful for parents who want to exercise their responsibility.

The real problem is getting parents to exercise their responsibility. A lot of parents simply do not. They simply say, "Go watch television," whether it be cable or broadcast television and use it as a babysitter.

So I think in this particular case it is very much a question of parental responsibility because there are many other influences that are almost as accessible to young people that might be negative, pornographic materials and the like, and I think parents do exercise responsibility with respect to them, and I think they have to exercise their responsibility with respect to these.

Senator SPECTER. Ms. Banta, what is your sense of the availability of pornographic materials on cable which children might be able to see when they come home after school?

Ms. BANTA. Well, I agree with Mr. Keeshan that there needs to be locks and that parents have easy access to these, and I think the possibility of locking out these needs to be just a bottomline.

This is something that the cable operators should make available to parents as the bottomline of their subscription, that you shouldn't have to pay extra to be able to lock out the things that you do not want.

I also think that most of us have grown up assuming that we learn to read and think about what we see, but I think we have taken television for granted. We have not really learned to look at and make critical evaluations of what we see on television.

And when I talk to parents about critical viewing skills their first question is what is that. And I think we have just assumed that television is there and you mindlessly watch it, and I think we need to have a very concerted effort to teach adults as well as children how to be critical viewers, how to really look at something and make those value judgments.

There are a lot of parents who have just truly never thought about these things, and there has not been a lot of encouragement to get parents to think about television.

Senator SPECTER. One final question or line of questioning before we let you go and we appreciate all your time. Moving beyond the parents to the role of Government, and here you face the tough issues of first amendment rights, and by and large, television has self-policed. They have taken care of themselves, established standards in accordance with our concept of first amendment rights.

Now, as the first amendment is interpreted, television has less rights than the print media, than the newspapers. There are ways for the Government, under the existing cases, to have restraining influences on television which you cannot on newspapers.

But, Mr. Keeshan, let us start with you. Do you believe that there is any appropriate role for governmental establishment of

standards or some government entering into this field or should television be left to police itself entirely?

Mr. KEESHAN. I think Government has a role to play in this, and I learned as a young child in a grade school civics class that with each right that I had there was an accompanying responsibility, and I think that is the missing quotient very often, the missing factor very often, when we talk about rights. There has been an enormous amount of talk about rights, and I happen to be a great defender of first amendment rights, but I believe that along with those rights there are responsibilities, and I think that when the Government of the United States through its agency of regulation, the Federal Communications Commission, did tell broadcasters they had a right to serve the needs of special audiences and then leave them alone to regulate within the industry how they best served those audiences that was one.

I, for example, think the networks today would be delighted to do more in the area of children's television, but they find it very difficult today because their licensees, the members of their network organization no longer feel compelled to do that, because they have been told by the Commission that the marketplace can be the determining factor.

And you know, they have vague, vague responsibilities to serve children. They can look at the community in which they broadcast and if they see that another licensee is, in their opinion, serving children, they are relieved of any responsibility of doing anything themselves.

But any licensee who is in a marketplace being served by a public television station has the opportunity to be relieved of that responsibility. And so it is this pressure from affiliates that makes it practically impossible for networks to provide the kind of services that I believe they would provide under the old regulations.

Senator SPECTER. Ms. Banta, do you think the Government has any role here considering the constraints of the first amendment and our efforts to be free and keep the Government out of the business of newspapers, television?

Ms. BANTA. Well, I think that you have a role that we all have in being concerned and caring for our children, and I think that the broadcasters' first amendment rights are very privileged and very special to me also.

But I also think that children have rights and they have a right to information. They have a right to be told that the solution to the television problem is not to just turn it off, not to just be regulated out of market.

A lot of money is made off of children products that are sold on television. I think children have a right to share in some of the benefits of television, and I think we can only turn to you and ask you to help us get those things for our children.

Senator SPECTER. Well, thank you very much, Ms. Banta. Thank you very much, Mr. Keeshan, for your very enlightening testimony. Thank you especially, Ms. Banta, for bringing us Crystal and Courtney. Thank you.

I would like not to call our next panel, Dr. David Pearl, Mr. Philip Harding, Dr. John Murray and Dr. Jib Fowles. Good morning, gentlemen. We very much appreciate your being here.

We would like to begin with Dr. David Pearl, who is Chief of Behavioral Science Research at the National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, MD. Thank you very much, Dr. Pearl, and thank you for your very excellent statement which you have submitted, and it will be made a part of the record in full. We would appreciate your summarizing, leaving the maximum amount of time for questions and answers.

STATEMENTS OF A PANEL CONSISTING OF DR. DAVID PEARL, CHIEF OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES RESEARCH, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH, ROCKVILLE, MD; PHILIP HARDING, VICE PRESIDENT, OFFICE OF SOCIAL AND POLICY RESEARCH, CBS/BROADCAST GROUP; DR. JOHN MURRAY, SENIOR SCIENTIST AND DIRECTOR, YOUNG AND FAMILY POLICY, THE BOYS TOWN CENTER URBAN PROJECT, BOYS TOWN, NE, TESTIFYING ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION; AND DR. JIB FOWLES, PROFESSOR OF HUMAN SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON—CLEAR LAKE, HOUSTON, TX

Dr. PEARL. I am pleased to testify before this committee on what behavioral science and mental health research have learned regarding television's influences on viewer behaviors and functioning, particularly as these relate to aggressiveness, violence, and antisocial acts.

I am a psychologist, and as you have indicated, have been associated with the National Institute of Mental Health for some time. The institute's research mission is to increase knowledge regarding factors and processes which underlie mental and behavioral disorders or which contribute to mental health.

Studies of the development, determinants, and maintenance of behavior have been one major aspect of the NIMH Program. For this reason, the Institute provided the setting and support during the 1969 to 1971 period for the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior which assessed at that time the relationship of television watching to the aggressive and violent behaviors of young viewers.

The Surgeon General's committee in its 1972 report concluded that there was fairly substantial experimental evidence for a short-run causation of aggression among some children viewing television violence and less evidence from naturalist field studies regarding long-term effects.

Now, since then, there have been a large number of studies regarding television influences, and these have been conducted on a very broad range of behavioral topics. In 1979, researchers suggested to the then Surgeon General, Dr. Richmond, that it would be worthwhile to collect, review and synthesize this new vast expanded knowledge and to determine its import.

The National Institute of Mental Health undertook the project which was initiated at the end of 1979, and I was designated to direct it. I directed it with the aid of a small distinguished group of consultants which included behavioral scientists, child development experts, mental health researchers, and communications media specialists.

We started out by commissioning comprehensive and critical evaluations of the scientific literature from leading researchers on numerous aspects of television's behavioral influence. The update project group then assessed and integrated these contributions as well as additional pertinent data.

Most of the studies considered involved children and youth. These assessments of the current state of knowledge and their judged import were published in 1982 by the National Institute of Mental Health in a two-volume report which was titled "Television and Behavior, 10 Years of Scientific Progress and Implications for the 1980's."

Now, only a part of the report is given over to televised violence and potential influences on viewers. The unanimous consensus of the advisory group consultants, reflected in the report, was that there is a general learning effect from television viewing which is important in the development and functioning of many viewers.

While television has a great deal of potential for positively influencing socially desirable behaviors, the learning and expression of aggressive behaviors or attitudes concerning these are also now major aspects of its influence.

The unanimous consensus which was embodied in the report was that there was a convergence of findings from a sizable number of studies and that these studies, on balance, did support the inference that there was a causal connection between the viewing of televised violence and later aggressive behaviors.

The conclusions reached 10 years before in the Surgeon General's report thus were strengthened by the more recent research. Since 1982, there have been additional studies which are in further support of the teaching or influencing potential of television in general, and in particular, of the effect of the television violence/aggressive behavior causal impact.

The research data are derived from both experimental and naturalistic field studies. In common with experimental research, the majority of observational field studies indicates that there is a significant positive linkage between the viewing of televised violence and aggressive behaviors.

Most behavioral scientists who have studied the question agree that this indicates a plausible causal relationship. Early studies suggested it was mostly those individuals who initially preferred action programs involving violence who were most susceptible to its influence. More recent research, however, has pointed to what we would call a bidirectional causal relationship in which heavy viewing may engender aggression and that such instigated aggression, thereafter, in turn, instigates or engenders a preference for violence viewing. So a circular effect seems present and it is not just those who initially are aggressive and have a preference for violent programs who can be affected by the content, by the nature of the programs they watch. Those who are heavy viewers of such programs can be influenced with respect to both aggressiveness and a preference for such programs even if they did not start out that way.

It is important to stress here that the empirical support for a causal relationship does not mean that all aggressive or violent be-

haviors in the real world are influenced by television. This would be overly simplistic.

Some critics of the NIMH report have misunderstood this and have misrepresented this as one of the findings. The causes of behavior are complex. Mr. Keeshan superbly outlined some of the factors that influence behavior, that behavior is determined by multiple factors.

No single factor exclusively by itself probably makes a person seriously aggressive or antisocial. Under some psychological, social, or environmental circumstances, television may exert little or no influence. But with other conditions, it can, indeed, play a highly important role in shaping behavioral style, when and how violence/aggresiveness or other antisocial behavior gets expressed.

Other critics have criticized research studies as revealing only that the frequent viewing of televised violence merely instigates incivility rather than potentially influencing serious antisocial or violent behaviors. But there are research studies which do show the linkage to significant violent or antisocial kinds of behavior. It is not just the natural buoyancy of youth that is involved in these kinds of studies.

Some critics also have discounted the potential effects shown by past research on the grounds that even if these effects are real, they are still not large enough to be meaningful in a practical sense. But it is appropriate to point out that even a comparatively small effect can have a major social significance. Even if only 1 out of 1,000 viewers is influenced, and there may very well be a much higher percentage, the huge audiences for many programs would still generate a sizable number who were influenced in some way.

I wanted to join Mr. Keeshan in stressing that desensitization is an important effect that we do not think about as often as we should. The fact is that violence may become accepted as part of normal life. Heavy viewers of television may become apathetic with respect to the occurrence of violence. Children may develop less empathy for victims of violence and that there can be a greater apathy demonstrated in future behaviors with respect to helping victims of violence.

I would like to conclude with a caveat. The research evidence is based on studies of groups and does not permit one to make a definitive prediction that a particular individual is violence prone or antisocial purely on the basis of the heavy viewing of televised violence.

We would not want to say that individual A who, because he watches 6 hours or 8 hours a day definitely is going to be an aggressive or acting out individual. Whether such a heavy viewer will act aggressively or be antisocial will also depend on other aspects of his background and the existence of environmental instigators or restraints on his acting out.

The extensive watching of televised violence is an important consideration and cannot be dismissed, but still is only one of several factors in the equation.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Pearl follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. DAVID PEARL

From its early days, television has increasingly become an important part of the life of the viewing public, including children. Television is now a socializing agent almost comparable in importance to the home, school and neighborhood in influencing children's development and behaviors. Practically every American home has a television set; many have multiple sets. The medium is a formidable educator whose effects are both pervasive and cumulative. Research findings have long since destroyed any illusion that television is merely innocuous entertainment and it can no longer be considered as a mere casual part of daily life.

A survey of a few months ago indicated that the average household had a television set on for 49 hours a week, up from what previously had been believed. Surveys also have indicated that each person, on the average, watches television for approximately 25-30 hours per week. Some, of course, watch much more. Viewing times for individuals may range from one or two to many hours daily and some keep the set on all day long. Children, women, older persons, and those in the lower socioeconomic strata of society view the most. A study last year of the viewing habits of black school aged boys revealed that the average viewing time was an astonishing 44 hours per week.[1] Another survey has found that for large numbers of people television ranked third among all activities (after sleep and work) in the number of hours devoted to it. The average American child, 9-12 years of age, will spend approximately 1000 hours in the classroom over a year but will spend 1340 hours before a TV set. By the time an average child graduates high school, he will have spent 22,000 hours of accumulated viewing time before the television screen and only 11,000 hours of classroom time. The 1982 Nielsen report on television estimates that by the age of 16, a young person will have seen 18,000 murders on television.

Public interest and concern about the effects on children and youth of televised violence began to be manifested in the 1950s. Two governmental commissions considered this problem in

the late 1960s. The first,[2] the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence concluded that the viewing of televised violence increased the liklihood of a viewer to behave violently, this on the basis of a relatively small number of laboratory studies. The second commission was the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee, set up in 1969. After commissioning new research, the Committee in a widely publicized report in 1972 confirmed the pervasiveness of television. Its major conclusion was that there was fairly substantial experimental evidence for a short-run causation of aggression among some children viewing televised violence and less evidence from field studies regarding long term causal effects.[3]

Since then, a large number of studies on the medium's influence were conducted on a broad range of behavioral topics. Over 80 percent of all publications of research on television influences have appeared in the last decade--over 2,500 titles. Most of these did not focus on violence but dealt with other potential of the medium effects. Because of the outpouring of research, leading investigators in 1979 suggested the timeliness of an update of the 1972 Surgeon General's Report through an assessment and integration of this burgeoning literature. The Surgeon General and the National Institute of Mental Health agreed and the project was initiated in late 1979. The update was conducted by key NIMH staff together with a small distinguished advisory group. These included child development experts, behavioral scientists, mental health researchers and communication media specialists. Comprehensive and critical evaluations of the scientific literature were commissioned from leading researchers. The update group then assessed and integrated these contributions as well as additional pertinent data. The import of the group's evaluations as well as the commissioned state of knowledge articles were incorporated in a two volume report which was published in 1982.[4,5] Only a part of the report is given over to considerations of televised violence and potential influences on viewers. The major part of the report covers such other considerations as television's health promoting possibilities and such other aspects as: cognitive and

emotional influences, prosocial or socially desirable behaviors, creativity and fantasy, socialization and conceptions of social reality, television and the family, educational achievement, and critical television viewing skills.

The unanimous consensus of the NIMH update group was that there is a general learning effect from television viewing which is important in the development and functioning of many viewers, particularly children. Viewers can be influenced by the programs they watch in socially desirable ways as well as in dysfunctional behaviors. This general learning influence, of course, has been implicitly subscribed to by the broadcast industry with respect to the effectiveness of television advertising.

Most learning is incidental and derives from the watching of television entertainment programs, particularly dramatic shows. Television programs deliver messages to children, and others, about the nature of their world. The medium provides them with ideas about the way people are, how they live, believe, and interact. It gives children a framework for expectations--what to expect from others and themselves. It expands their horizons by bringing them into symbolic contact with people and situations that are unfamiliar to them. Television provides models through whom children learn about role behaviors and what to expect regarding such social and behavioral aspects as friendship, cross-sex relationships, marriage, goals and aspirations, achievement, the school place, work. It also suggests what works in the real world. Through program plots and characters, it portrays problems and conflicts, reveals how these are solved and how motivations are satisfied.

While the medium has a prosocial potential, the learning and expression of aggressive behaviors or attitudes on these, currently are major aspects of its influence. The Update Group agreed unanimously that, on balance, the convergence of findings from a sizeable number of studies supported the inference of a causal connection between the viewing of televised violence and later aggressive behavior. The conclusions reached in the 1972 Surgeon General's Report were judged to have been strengthened by the more recent research and the processes by which aggressive behavior is produced were clarified further by such studies. The

NIMH update group also concluded that television's influence or effects on aggressive behaviors are not attributable solely to its programmatic content but may, in part, be due also to the structure or form of the medium. This includes such aspects as program pace, action level, and camera effects which stimulate higher physiological and emotional arousal levels in the viewer, and thus a greater readiness to respond aggressively under appropriate instigation or cues.

The data are derived from both experimental and naturalistic field studies. In common with experimental research, the great majority of observational or field studies and surveys indicate also that there is a significant positive correlation between television viewing and a variety of behavioral influences including that of aggressive behaviors. The strength of this relationship as clarified by correlational, regression and structural equation analyses differs between field studies on the basis of differences in subject samples and procedures for assessing both viewing and aggressive behaviors. Some of the studies deal with community effects of the introduction of television, others involve longitudinal followups over time; some make cross-cultural comparisons. But there can be little doubt that experimental and field findings coalesce and indicate a plausible causal relationship between the viewing of televised violence and subsequent aggressive behaviors.

Several of the earlier studies, prior to 1972, reported data indicating that it was viewer preference for television action programs involving violence which was causally linked to later aggressiveness. More recent research, however, has pointed to the critical relationship between the extent of television viewing of violent programming and aggressive behavior rather than to the attitudinal preference for such programs. Thus heavy viewers of such programs can be influenced even though they do not start out with a previous preference for violent portrayals. Recent coordinated cross-national longitudinal studies[6] also have shown that this effect does not occur only for those who initially were the most aggressive. The data indicate that attitudes and preferences are subsequently affected. Children who were influenced to become more aggressive then

tended to develop an increased interest and preference for programs with violence.

Such empirical support for the linkage does not mean, of course, that all aggressive or violent behaviors in the real world are influenced by television. Some critics of the NIMH Report findings have misunderstood this. The causes of behavior are complex and are determined by multiple factors. The viewing of televised violence is only one in a constellation of determinants or precipitating factors involved in antisocial or aggressive behavior. Probably no single factor by itself makes a person seriously aggressive or antisocial. And certainly, under some psychological, social or environmental circumstances, television may exert little or no easily discernible influence on behavior. But with other conditions, it may play a significant role in shaping behavioral style, when, and how violence, aggressiveness or other antisocial behavior gets expressed. Television viewing also may function as a triggering or releasing mechanism for overt behaviors which otherwise might be inhibited.

Some critics also have discounted the antisocial effects shown by past research on the grounds that such effects or relationships while statistically significant nevertheless are not large enough to be meaningful in a practical sense. But even if it were so, that the extensive watching of televised violence had only a comparatively small overall effect on viewers, that effect could still be of major social significance. Consider the situation if even only one out of a thousand viewing children or youth were affected (there may well be a higher rate). A given prime time national program whose audience includes millions of children and adolescents would generate a group of thousands of youngsters who were influenced in some way. Consider also the cumulative effects for viewers who watch such programs throughout the year. Even if only a small number of antisocial incidents are precipitated in any community, these often may be sufficient to be disruptive and to impair the quality of life for citizens of that community.

Furthermore, we know that television presentations of various antisocial or violent acts have instigated imitations or what some have called "copy-cat" behaviors. This has occurred

for airplane hijacking, and more recently, in an increase of poison threats involving tampering with over-the-counter drugs. Documentary or semi-fictional presentations, as well as fictional dramatic programs and movies on television, have stimulated imitations of antisocial acts or threats of violence. One documented illustration [7] involves reports by airlines in various cities and countries on extortion threats to blow up aircraft through an already implanted pressure sensitive bomb. These were imitative threats which systematically and quickly followed the showing of the television play, "Doomsday Flight," in these cities at different times. Prior to the showing of this television drama which involved a similar plot, there had been no extortion threats of this kind in any of these communities. Numerous self-inflicted deaths and woundings involving both adults and adolescents also have ben reported all over the country at different times following the showing in the victims' communities of the movie on television of the "Deerhunter." This has a prominent "Russian Roulette" episode.

And just this past week we read and heard about the grisly news story of the man who doused his wife with gasolene and set her on fire after he had seen the television movie, "The Burning Bed."[8] This portrayed a long abused battered wife who finally dealt with her spouse by setting his bed and him afire with gasolene while he slept. Now I do not want to imply that television programs necessarily should be completely sanitized in an abstract fashion from all aggressive or violent elements. This would be unrealistic. But this story illustrates again the extraordinary behavioral and psychological influence the medium can have. In this instance, some other aspects of the dramatic portrayal could be considered as positive in that the real problem of spouse abuse was publicized and some viewers were led to inquire of community agencies about counseling for themselves.

Some critics have also criticized research studies as revealing only that the frequent viewing of televised violence merely instigates incivility rather than dangerous aggressiveness or violence. This, however, selectively ignores particular studies or various developmental considerations. When young children are studied for television's influences, one does not

expect immediately to find major effects that can be classified as dangerously aggressive or violent. The developmental stages of such children and their often restricted environmental opportunities initially set limits on the acting out engaged in. The increased interpersonal and object oriented aggressiveness that some studies have reported, though less than immediately violent, does have implications for future behaviors. Data now exist that show that certain aggressive or deviant acts in early childhood or early adolescence are related to later-in-life antisocial behaviors and that the more aggressive school boys tend to become the more aggressive and antisocial youths and young adults.

There also are several studies which do link the heavy viewing of televised violent programs to violent and antisocial behaviors. Two will serve to illustrate. In a noteworthy study by Belson[9] 1,650 London teenage boys were evaluated through interview data for violent behavior attitudes, background and exposure to television violence. They were divided into two groups on the basis of the extent of violence viewing, equated on certain variables, and then compared. Belson reported strong evidence that heavy television viewing increased the degree to which boys engaged in serious violent behaviors such as burglary, property destruction, infliction of personal injuries, attempted rape, etc.

The second study is longitudinal and has been engaged in by Eron and his colleagues.[10] Subjects, first seen in 1960, included the entire third grade of a New York State county. They were seen in classrooms for a series of tests and questionnaires. Personal interviews were also conducted with parents to determine learning conditions in the home which would relate to aggression of children in school as rated by peers. In 1970, subjects now about 19 years old were again interviewed and retested. The best single prediction of aggressiveness at 19 years of age turned out to be the violence of the television programs the subjects preferred when they were eight years old. This finding was a major basis for the conclusion in 1972 by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee that televised violence seemed causally linked to children's aggressiveness.[11]

A third phase of Eron's study has now been completed. Over 300 of the subjects were reinterviewed ten years later in 1980 at age 30. Measures of psychopathology as well as interpersonal skills, competence and television habits were given. Hospital and criminal justice data were gathered. Spouses and children of the original subjects also were interviewed. Dr. Eron's analyses indicate that the peer rated aggressiveness or acting out behaviors at age 8 do predict over 22 years to the number and seriousness of criminal arrests, number of traffic accidents and moving violations, convictions for driving while impaired, and extent of spouse abuse. The data also show that the violence of preferred television programs at age 8 continued to be an important variable, being correlated significantly with subjects' self ratings of aggression, alcohol use, and with several of the above public record violations.[12]

Four kinds of television related effects can be identified. The first involves the direct imitation of observed violence. This is the effect that first springs to mind when one thinks about television violence. There are many examples of the learning and overt imitations of viewed violent or aggressive actions. The medium often has provided tutoring or training on how to do it--how to burglarize, physically manhandle an opponent, and so forth.

A second type of effect occurs when the television violence serves to instigate or trigger off overt acts which are not imitations of what had been immediately observed but rather relate to earlier learned aggressive or violent tactics.

The other two effects concern the psychological effects on viewers of a diet of heavy watching of televised violence. These influences are subtle and insidious and should be of concern.

Viewer habituation or desensitization to the occurrence of violence is one of these two potential outcomes. Children especially, but youth and adults too, may learn that violent behavior or aggressive tactics are appropriate under many circumstances. Some who spend significant amounts of time watching programs with high action, violence and antisocial behaviors may begin to assume that these are reflective of a similar rate of such occurrences in the world. Such viewers

would learn gradually to accept a higher level of violent or antisocial behavior as being normal. A number of studies with children[e.g.,13,14] have provided data which suggest that the development of this frame of mind or attitude may result in a greater tolerance of violence when it occurs, a decrease of empathy toward others in distress, or an increase in apathy relative to the helping of victims. A number of recent studies with adults provide a clear indication of how exposure to films may influence attitudes of greater acceptance of violence against women. Zilmann and Bryant [15] have found from an experimental study that the more extensive the viewing of erotic films, the more significantly affected are the attitudes of viewers on sexuality and dispositions toward women. Viewers of such films, in contrast to comparable control subjects, became more calloused and less compassionate to hypothetical rape victims. Extensive viewing of these erotic films trivialized and shifted attitudes so that rape became perceived as a less serious crime.

Studies by Donnerstein[16] and Malamuth[17] concerned the effects of films on viewers. Donnerstein found no increase in violent or sexually violent attitudes by men toward women when a neutral or an explicitly sexual film was shown. But both a violent film and even more so a sexually violent film resulted in a considerable increase in viewer willingness to administer pain to women and to report an increased likelihood of raping a woman. Malamuth, on the basis of several studies, concluded that violent, non-sexual films of the kind often appearing on television did increase the acceptance of aggression against women.

The fourth type of influence involves the impact of televised violence or antisocial acts on viewer fearfulness. There is considerable evidence that the medium is influential in the learning of behaviors other than aggression and in the shaping of viewer knowledge and attitudes. As one aspect, children along with other viewers may learn to identify with portrayed victims of televised violence. The violence profiles issued yearly by Dr. George Gerbner and his colleagues[18,19] have indicated that a disproportionate percentage of television-portrayed victims are the powerless or have-not individuals in

our society, including children and older citizens. Viewers then may experience fear and apprehension on the basis of identification or perceived similarity to such victims. Gerbner has reported generally that heavy viewers, as contrasted to light viewers, tend to overestimate the amount of violence and danger facing them To the extent that this is a valid finding, it should have pertinence for many viewers, particulary the elderly. Surveys typically indicate that older persons are heavy users of television for entertainment, as time markers, and for contact with what is going on in the world. This, in large measure, is due to their decreased physical mobility and to their often restricted incomes. Crime statistics reveal that there is a realistic basis for anxiety concerning possible victimization for large numbers of older citizens in cities, many living marginally. Television programming which exacerbates expectations of violence and trauma thus could be considered as having unwanted mental health effects such as heightening anxiety over being victimized and increasing the fear of being away from one's home. With a growing number of elderly in our population, such effects increasingly will demand attention.

A number of studies, mostly experimental, have delineated those viewing circumstances where televised violence was most likely to influence behavior. Aggressiveness is most likely to be emulated when:

(1) it pays off: that is, the actor or model solve his problem, achieves his goal, or satisfies his need;

(2) it is not punished: there is no retribution, censure, or unfavorable consequence to the actor as a result of the use of violence;

(3) it is shown in a justifying context; that is, the violence, threat or injury meted out is justified by the events and the victim merited such behavior. This typically characterizes police shows;

(4) it is socially acceptable: the aggressive behaviors are presented as acceptable to the portrayed TV players in the context of the social practices and attitudes characterizing the setting and plot of the program. An example would be the hanging of a rustler in a wild west program;

(5) it appears realistic rather than being seen as a segment of a fictitious program;

(6) it appears motivated by a deliberate intent to injure the victim;

(7) it is expressed under conditions, cues, or circumstances similar to those experienced or lived in by the viewer; and,

(8) it is perpetrated by a model who the viewer perceives as similar to himself.

Just as media influenced behaviors can be facilitated, there also are aspects which frequently serve to inhibit acting out.

(1) retribution and punishment following violence--a clear indicator that crime does not pay;

(2) a sequential showing of the destructive, painful, and often enduring consequences of aggression; and

(3) reminders that such behaviors are contrary to ethical or moral principles.

A number of field studies of the last decade involving children and youth deserve special attention. Some have been completed since the 1982 NIMH Report. The Eron et al. longitudinal study, mentioned earlier,[10,11,12] has been a key study. Singer and Singer[20] in two short-term longitudinal studies followed middle-class and lower-socioeconomic class three and four year olds and asessed both their television viewing and behavior at four different times. Multivariate analyses led the researchers to conclude in both studies that watching violence on television was a cause of heightened aggressiveness. Longitudinal followups of these children continued to show the same relationship three to four years later.[21]

McCarthy and colleagues in 1975[22] came to the same conclusion as a result of a five-year study of 732 children. Several kinds of aggressive behaviors, including conflict with parents, fighting, and delinquency proved positively associated with amount of television viewing.

Greenberg in 1975[23] found correlations between violence viewing and aggressive behaviors in a sample of London school children to be very similar to those reported for American children.

In a Canadian study reported by Williams,[24] aggressive behaviors of primary school children in a small community were assessed before and after television was introduced. These data were compared with that for children of two other towns which already had access to television. Increases in both verbal and physical aggression occurred after television was introduced and were significantly greater here than in the two comparison communities.

Huesmann, Lagerspetz and Eron[6] collected data on 758 first and third grades for each of 3 years through an overlapping longitudinal design which then provided data for grades 2 to 5. Similar data was collected on 220 children in Finland. Analyses revealed that violence viewing was related to concurrent aggression and significantly predicted aggression levels several years later for boys in both countries and for girls in the United States. Both the frequency with which violence was viewed and the extent of violence in the programs watched contributed to the causal relationship.

A further study by Huesmann and colleagues[25] involved 169 first and third grade children who had a high exposure to television violence. Experimental techniques aimed at changing children's attitudes about the realism of television violence and whether watching television violence was harmful resulted in a significant reduction in the propensity of these children to act aggressively. This did not occur for similar children who did not receive these interventions. The investigators conclude that the success of these interventions could not have occurred if the violence viewing-aggression causal relationships were spurious or due to some third factor.

Adolescents were the subjects of a study reported by Hartnagel, Teevan, and McIntyre.[26] In this, they found a signficant though low correlation between violence viewing and aggressive behaviors.

Reference has been made earlier to the study by Belson of 1,650 London youth.[9,27] Belson reported that boys with heavy exposure to televised violence were 47 percent more likely than boys with light exposure to commit acts such as burglary, property destruction, personal injury and rape and were eleven

percent more likely to commit violent acts in general. The reverse hypothesis that violent boys were more likely to watch violent television programs was tested and did not hold up. Belson also found that the viewing of certain program types seemed more likely than others to lead to serious behavioral offenses. These included programs involving physical or visual violence in close personal relationships, programs with gratuitous violence not germane to the plot, realistic fictional violence, violence in a good cause, and violent westerns.

In striking contrast, Milavsky and his colleagues in a National Broadcasting Company panel study[28] concluded differently. They collected data at several points of time over a 3 year period for 2,400 elementary school children and from 800 teenage high school boys in two cities. Peer nominations of aggression were collected for the elementary school children while the teenagers gave self reports. The results obtained through the use of a recently developed model for causal analysis (Lisrel IV computer program) showed that there were short-term small positive correlations between viewing measures and aggressive behavior taken at the same point of time. They did not find any long-term effects and they concluded that short-term effects did not cumulate and produce stable patterns of aggressive behavior in the real world.

The seeming excellence of this study's data and analysis would seem to pose a serious challenge to the conclusions of the NIMH report regarding a causal influence. However, this study was considered by the NIMH update group which concluded unanimously that, on balance, the research evidence supported the causal inference. The fact that a negative finding regarding the existence of a phenomenon or a relationship customarily is accorded less weight than are positive findings was a consideration--assuming that the studies generating positive findings were well designed and rigorous. Logically, one cannot definitively prove the "null hypothesis." There may be various reasons for a study's negative finding other than the non-existence of what is being studied. Indeed, the full appropriateness of the analytical model used in this study has been questioned. A reanalysis by Cook[29] led him to conclude that

the NBC study conclusions were faulty and that a more tenable conclusion from the data was that television violence may well increase aggression, along with other factors, in children from 7 to 16 years of age. Several other methodologists have made the same point.

A recently published study[30] involving a different approach provides an additional finding which is consistent with the thesis that television is a potent influence on viewer behaviors. This study used interrupted time series data to examine how the introduction of television in American cities at different times affected FBI crime indicators. The research was possible because television reception by communities throughout the country began at different times. This artificial staggering resulted from a Federal Communications Commission freeze on new broadcasting licenses between late 1949 and mid-1950. Areas receiving television before the freeze could then be compared at different times for levels of crime with communities only provided television after the freeze. Sophisticated analyses did not reveal a consistent effect for all crimes but did show that the introduction of television conclusively increased larcenies and less definitively, auto thefts. The authors believed that these increases were probably largely due to attitudinal and motivational changes. Their analysis of early television programming indicated that these were most likely due to the arousal of consumption appetities for many young viewers by the portrayal of middle class life styles and the heavy advertising of consumption goods.

A caveat is in order as I conclude this sampling of important research studies. The research evidence is based on studies of groups and does not permit one at this time to make a definitive prediction that a particular individual is violence prone or anti-social just on the basis of heavy viewing of televised violence. As indicated earlier, behaviors are complex and multidetermined. Television influences are important but there are other potential influences at work. Whether a particular heavy television viewer will act aggressively or be antisocial will also depend on other aspects of his background

and the existence of environmental instigators or restraints on his acting out. The extensive watching of televised violence has significant influences on many viewers and is important, but yet, is only one of several factors in the equation.

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Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Dr. Pearl.

I would like now to call on Mr. Philip Harding, director of special projects research, CBS/Broadcasting Group, who will provide a contrasting point of view on a matter of balance here this morning.

Mr. Harding, thank you for joining us.

STATEMENT OF PHILIP A. HARDING

Mr. HARDING. Thank you, Senator. I have tried to edit my remarks, the full copy of which you have.

Senator SPECTER. Your full testimony will be made a part of the record and we do ask you to summarize within the time limits if you can so that we can have maximum time for questions and answers.

Mr. HARDING. Just one correction. The name is right. The title is now vice president, office of social and policy research in the CBS/Broadcast Group.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much.

Mr. HARDING. I want to say that we welcome the opportunity to participate in this morning's discussion of an issue which has been the topic of considerable debate for more than 30 years, the extent to which depictions of violence in television entertainment programs may contribute to violent or otherwise antisocial behavior in the real world.

Television, like earlier media which were the subject of similar concerns, does, of course, deal with crime and violence both in its journalistic and entertainment functions. But I would submit that there has been very little scientific research which has meaningfully addressed the social conseqences of such depictions. Let me elaborate.

The fundamental question before us is whether television's portrayals of violence are likely to induce in viewers a greater likelihood of themselves engaging in violent or other forms of seriously antisocial behavior. What must be clearly understood, however, is that the word adopted for this discussion by much of the scientific community is aggression and not violence, and it is aggression, not violence, that the great mass of the studies have sought to measure.

The fact that so much of the research literature bears upon aggression rather than violence has been emphasized by us and by other observers who have questioned the social importance of the behaviors studied.

Some critics of the research, including ourselves, go further and ask whether many of these behaviors are even aggressive in any destructive or hurtful sense.

In short, the types of behavior measured in so much of the research on this question simply do not enable us to reach a scholarly conclusion as to whether violence on television leads to crime or violence in the real world.

Now, in the full statement I prepared which will be inserted in the record, I have argued for the use of rigorously objective and empirical research as the most fruitful approach to questions of television's social effects. I also expressed my own position and that of CBS that the research done to date has simply failed to impli-

cate television as a contributing influence in socially meaningful acts of crime and violence.

But how does all of this reconcile with the occasional but tragic instances in which acts of violence committed in real life appear to be directly imitative of or at least modeled upon content presented on television or, for that matter, content presented in motion pictures or in the print media.

First of all, it will not do to deny that such things have happened, happened rarely when one considers the many millions of persons exposed to the same media content who did not engage in such behavior but happened nonetheless.

Now, my background is social psychology, not criminology, not psychiatry, but my own interpretation of this so-called "copy-cat" violence is that there exists among certain individuals a level of emotional pathology which, given the appropriate trigger, necessarily manifests itself in violent and destructive ways.

To the extent this trigger is an external one, it might be literally anything in the disturbed individual's environment. And that would include but certainly not be limited to the content of television, movies, books, newspapers, or any other medium.

But because we are dealing in these tragic cases with what is essentially an irrational and idiosyncratic process, there is, to my knowledge, little that helps us to identify, in advance, what aspects of theme, visual content, characterization and so forth might be considered risk factors.

But even if there were, I cannot believe that the rage and self-hatred that so often are the root causes of these destructive acts would not still become violently manifest in any case.

I want to point out that there is a unit of the CBS/Broadcast Group which is responsible for maintaining standards of taste and overall suitability in all of the entertainment programming and commercial advertising carried on the CBS television network.

This is the program practices department, whose total staff of 80 is distributed between Los Angeles and New York. These are trained, experienced professionals who continually evaluate the content of our broadcasts to insure the maintenance of appropriate standards of acceptability.

It has long been our practice that before we acquire new series, theatrical and made-for-television motion pictures, miniseries or any other programming, program practices must first approve the proposed dramatic treatment of their respective themes.

Once such programming is on the schedule the department then reviews each story outline or script in terms first of acceptability of overall theme, and then individual scenes and script dialog. Where revisions are required, these are conveyed both to the production company and to our own CBS entertainment division people in Hollywood.

I am not a member of the program practices staff, and so I am not prepared to explain the review process in detail. As regards its application to portrayals of violence, however, I am aware that a basic distinction is drawn between violence judged to be necessary to the development of the program's character or plot and acts which are plainly gratuitous and serve no such function.

In the latter case, more moderate alternatives are negotiated with the creative people and substituted for the material originally judged unsuitable. The process is different for different programs and is, to a large extent, determined by the unique set of character and story-line expectations that individual series have engendered among their audiences. This is why no single set of standards, no written guidelines could be applied across the board.

Let me close by observing that after years of hearings and official Government reports there is still no convincing evidence that television violence creates criminals or increases crime in our society. The lack of such evidence makes it all the more imperative that our concerns about societal violence not lead us to actions aimed at narrowing the freedoms of expression which we have so long enjoyed.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Harding follows:]

Prepared Statement of Philip A. Harding

My name is Philip Harding, and I am Vice President, Office of Social and Policy Research in the CBS/Broadcast Group.

We at CBS welcome the opportunity to participate in this morning's discussion of an issue which has been the topic of considerable debate for more than 30 years: The extent to which depictions of violence in television entertainment programs may contribute to violent or otherwise anti-social behavior in the real world.

In the 15 years since I joined CBS, my work has been directly concerned with questions of television's social effects. And I have often observed during that time that such questions have generally been approached at two quite different levels. The first is the level of opinion, where the positions advanced are not based in any rigorous sense upon facts.

There is, however, a second, more scientific level from which one can address questions of this nature. The approach here is in terms of that which is empirically observable and measurable. And if there is not yet sufficient factual evidence on which to base valid conclusions, we recognize that and continue to apply the tools of disciplined research inquiry.

Given a choice between these two levels -- opinion on the one hand and objective empirical inquiry on the other -- most of us, I'm sure, would opt for the second in approaching issues as complex as television's effects on behavior.

It's worth keeping in mind that questions as to the relationship between media content and anti-social behavior are by no means new. Half a century ago, in the 1930's, the Payne Fund was supporting

research on whether movies influenced their teenaged audiences to engage in criminal behavior. In the intervening years, comic books and even radio programming became the subjects of similar inquiries. With the arrival of television, the focus shifted again: In the past 20 years, CBS has been represented at some seven Senate or House hearings held to explore whether television might be causally implicated in real-world violence.

There is, then, a considerable history to this issue. Television, like the earlier media which were the subjects of similar concerns, does of course deal with crime and violence -- both in its journalistic and entertainment functions. But I would submit that there has been very little scientific research which has meaningfully addressed the social consequences of such depictions.

Let me elaborate. The fundamental question before us is whether television's portrayals of violence are likely to induce in viewers a greater likelihood of themselves engaging in violent or other forms of seriously anti-social behavior. What must be clearly understood, however, is that the word adopted for the discussion by much of the scientific community is "aggression" and not "violence." And it is aggression, not violence, that the great mass of the studies have sought to measure.

The reason for this is pragmatic. As Krattenmaker and Powe observed several years ago in the Virginia Law Review:

> A normative definition of violence agreeable to all and fairly objectively determinable can be derived: the purposeful, illegal infliction of pain for personal gain or gratification that is intended to harm the victim and is accomplished in spite of social sanctions against it. Whether viewing such behavior simulated on television tends to cause its occurrence in real life seems to be the question about which

> researchers, regulators, and the public care. Such violence, however, is precisely the sort of behavior that no researcher in a laboratory may seek to cause and that no "real world observer" can hope to witness systematically.

The fact that so much of the research literature bears upon aggression rather than violence has been emphasized by us and by other observers who have questioned the social importance of the behaviors studied. Some critics of the research, including ourselves, go further and ask whether many of these behaviors are even "aggressive" in any destructive or hurtful sense. By way of example, one of the studies has as its subjects nursery-school children whose behavior was observed and rated during free-play periods. To the extent that this study turned up any behaviors its authors considered aggressive, these were limited very largely to instances in which a child may have carelessly knocked into other children's toys or disrupted games. Another study considers it aggressive for third-grade children to stick their tongues out or scowl. Dr. Thomas Cook and his colleagues at Northwestern University, in a published evaluation of the 1982 NIMH report Television and Behavior, has suggested that many of the aggression measures are not clearly related to any anti-social behavior. He notes that "[m]any readers understand 'aggression' in terms of physical violence with intent to harm or as criminal behavior, and not as the "incivility' that the majority of past measures of aggression mostly tap into."

I have no wish to review all the behaviors measured in all of the studies. But I think we can agree that, while some of these behaviors do represent some form of aggression, we must always recognize that very few of them could be meaningfully characterized as violent.

And if so few of the available studies have dealt with violence, even fewer have focused on real-life crime. In short, then, the types of behavior measured in so much of the research on this question simply do not enable us to reach a scholarly conclusion as to whether violence on television leads to crime or violence in the real world.

In my statement this morning, I have argued for the use of rigorously objective and valid research as the most fruitful approach to questions of television's social effects. In addition, I have expressed my own position and that of CBS that the research done to date has simply failed to implicate television as a contributing influence in socially-meaningful acts of crime and violence. But how does all of this reconcile with the occasional but tragic instances in which acts of violence committed in real life appear to be directly imitative of, or at least modeled upon, content presented on television? Or, for that matter, content presented in motion pictures or the print media?

First of all, it won't do to deny that such things have happened -- happened rarely, when one considers the many millions of persons exposed to the same media content who did not engage in such behavior, but happened nonetheless. My background is social psychology, not criminology and not psychiatry. But my own interpretation of this so-called "copycat violence" is that there exists among certain individuals a level of emotional pathology which, given the appropriate trigger, necessarily manifests itself in violent and destructive ways. To the extent this trigger is an external one, it might be literally anything in the disturbed individual's environment.

That would include, but certainly not be limited to, the content of

television, movies, books, newspapers, or any other medium. But because we are dealing in these tragic cases with what is essentially an irrational and idiosyncratic process, there is to my knowledge little that helps us to identify in advance what aspects of theme, visual content, characterization, and so forth might be considered risk factors. But even if there were, I cannot believe that the rage and self-hatred that are so often the root causes of these destructive acts would not still become violently manifest in any case.

I want to point out that there is a unit of the CBS Broadcast Group which is responsible for maintaining standards of taste and overall suitability in all of the entertainment programming and commercial advertising carried on the CBS Television Network. This is the Program Practices Department, whose total staff of 80 is distributed between Los Angeles and New York. These are trained, experienced professionals who continually evaluate the content of our broadcasts to ensure the maintenance of appropriate standards of acceptability.

It has long been our practice that before we acquire new series, theatrical and made-for-television motion pictures, mini-series or any other programming, Program Practices must first approve the dramatic treatment of their respective themes. Once such programming is on the schedule, the Department reviews each story outline or script in terms, first, of acceptability of overall theme, and then individual scenes and script dialogues. Where revisions are required, these are conveyed both to the production company and to our CBS Entertainment Division people in Hollywood.

I am of course not a member of the Program Practices staff and so am not prepared to explain the review process in detail. As regards its application to portrayals of violence, however, I am aware that

a basic distinction is made between violence judged to be necessary to the development of the program's characters or plot and acts which are plainly gratuitous and serve no such function. In the latter case, more moderate alternatives are negotiated with the creative people and substituted for the material originally judged unsuitable.

The process is different for different programs and is to a large extent determined by the unique set of character and storyline expectations that individual series have engendered among their audiences. This is why no single set of standards, no written guidelines, could be applied across the board.

Let me close with a few general observations. While the causes of crime and violence in our society are complex, we may all agree that among the major contributing factors are a variety of deeply-rooted social conditions. Those conditions, however, are notoriously difficult to eradicate. It therefore becomes all too easy to point the finger of blame elsewhere -- frequently at the media and particularly at television. CBS believes, however, that after years of hearings and official government reports, there is still no convincing evidence that television violence creates criminals or increases crime in our society.

The lack of such evidence makes it all the more imperative that our concerns about societal violence not lead us to actions aimed at narrowing the freedoms of expression we have so long enjoyed. Crime and violence appear in the media -- both in the form of dramatic entertainment and in our daily newspapers and news broadcasts -- for the simple reason that they are part of the world in which we live. It is difficult to imagine any role for the government in this area which would not be fundamentally at odds with our traditional freedoms of speech and press.

Those are issues, however, which can be better discussed by others. What I have tried to suggest to you today is that the social effects of media content is an area of enormous complexity, and we are still far from fully understanding it.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Harding.

I would like now to turn to Dr. John Murray, who is senior scientist and director of youth and family policy at the Boys Town Urban Program in Nebraska, testifying on behalf of the American Psychological Association.

Welcome, Dr. Murray.

STATEMENT OF DR. JOHN P. MURRAY

Dr. MURRAY. Thank you, Senator Specter. I would like to briefly summarize my statement. I am honored to be here on behalf of the 72,000 members of the American Psychological Association. While my testimony will be based on my research and that of others of the American Psychological Association, the conclusions do not necessarily represent the official policy of the association.

In summarizing, I would like to address three questions. One, are viewers of TV violence more aggressive? Two, does viewing television violence produce or cause this aggression? Three, if so, what can be done about it?

During the past 30 years of research on this topic, we have accumulated sufficient evidence, I believe, to warrant some policy recommendations. We have known for at least 15 years or so, as monitored by a research team at the University of Pennsylvania, that the level of violence on commercial television has remained at about 5 violent acts per hour of prime time television, and at about 20 acts per hour in children's television on Saturday mornings. The types of violence portrayed on the screen range from destruction of property to physical assaults or threats that cause injury or death.

The first question raised the issue of whether viewers of televised violence are more aggressive than other people. On the basis of research evidence, I conclude that the answer to this question is emphatically yes. Children and adults who more frequently watch violent programs tend to hold attitudes and values which favor the use of aggression to resolve conflicts. They also tend to behave more aggressively. That does not necessarily mean that television causes this aggression but at least these studies show that there is a link between the two.

The second question is: "Does television violence produce aggressive behavior?" The answer to this question, again, seems to be yes—based on studies conducted both in laboratories and in naturalistic settings observing preschool children, school age youngsters, college students, and adults. The experimental evidence seems to support the notion that viewing violence does lead to aggressive behavior in these settings and that there seems to be a long-term relationship between viewing violence and behaving aggressively.

Referring to Mr. Harding's testimony, studies conducted by Leonard Eron at the University of Illinois over the past 22 years following up youngsters from age 8 to now age 30 find that there is a consistent relationship between early violence viewing at age 8 and not only aggressive and antisocial behavior but also involvement in the criminal justice system and prosecution for criminal offenses through the age of 30.

In summary, I believe that the most reasonable statement of our knowledge about the impact of televised violence is the principal conclusion contained in the National Institute of Mental Health report which Dr. Pearl has just provided for you.

And in that regard, with your permission, Senator, I would like to introduce for the record, a statement of 44 senior researchers in the area of the impact of television on children, strongly supporting and endorsing the conclusions of the National Institute of Mental Health report that TV violence does cause aggressive behavior among viewers.

Senator SPECTER. It will be made a part of the record.

[The following was received for the record:]

Degree of Support for the Principal Conclusions of the NIMH Report Concerning the Impact of Televised Violence on Children and Adolescents*

	Professional Membership				
	APA Psychologists	ASA Sociologists	ICA Communication Researchers	NPA Non-affiliated	TOTAL
# in sample	43	10	21	35	109
# responding	31	5	13	19	68
Response rate	72%	50%	62%	54%	62%
Type of Response (#):					
Strongly Agree	24	1	10	12	47
Moderately Agree	4	—	1	4	9
Strongly Disagree	1	3	1	1	6
Moderately Disagree	1	—	—	1	2
No Opinion	—	—	—	—	—
Unable to Decide	1	1	1	1	4
% Agreement on the impact of TV violence	90%	20%	85%	84%	82%

* The statement in question is one of the principal conclusions contained in a recent report from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH): "... the consensus among most of the research community is that violence on television does lead to aggressive behavior by children and teenagers who watch the programs. This conclusion is based on laboratory experiments and on field studies. Not all children become aggressive, of course, but the correlations between violence and aggression are positive. In magnitude, television violence is as strongly correlated with aggressive behavior as any other behavioral variable that has been measured. The research question has moved from asking whether or not there is an effect to seeking explanations for the effect."

FOOTNOTE

1. The suggestion that there is a pressure of vested research interests is surely offensive [illegible] following 44 social scientists who strongly and publicly endorsed the NIMH report's principal conclusions concerning the impact of television violence (Pearl, Bouthilet, & Lazar, 1982). While it is true that these researchers share a common view, this consensus is not derived from a vested interest in maintaining the 'myth' of TV violence but rather from an adherence to basic principles of scientific inquiry.

Daniel R. Anderson, University of Massachusetts
Charles Atkin, Michigan State University
Leonard Berkowitz, University of Wisconsin
Toni A. Campbell, Humboldt State University
Steven H. Chaffee, Stanford University
W. Andrew Collins, University of Minnesota
Leonard D. Eron, University of Illinois at Chicago
Barbara N. Flagg, Harvard University
Lynette K. Friedrich-Cofer, University of North Carolina
Douglas A. Fuchs, Los Angeles
George Gerbner, University of Pennsylvania
Marvin E. Goldberg, McGill University
Patrica Greenfield, University of California, Los Angeles
Bradley Greenberg, Michigan State University
Larry Gross, University of Pennsylvania
Randall P. Harrison, San Francisco State University
Donald S. Hayes, University of Maine
Kenneth W. Hirsch, California State University
L. Rowell Huesmann, University of Illinois at Chicago
Aletha C. Huston, University of Kansas
Suzanne B. Kelly, University of Maine
Felipe Korzenny, Michigan State University
Stephen R. Levin, Kent State University
Robert M Liebert, State University of New York, Stony Brook
James Lull, University of California, Santa Barbara
Eleanor E. Maccoby, Stanford University
Neil M. Malamuth, University of California, Los Angeles
Michael Morgan, University of Pennsylvania
John P. Murray, The Boys Town Center
Edward L. Palmer, Davidson College
David Pearl, National Institute of Mental Health
Kathy Pezdek, Claremont Graduate School
Suzanne Pingree, University of Wisconsin
Richard Potts, University of Kansas
Mable Rice, University of Kansas
Donald F. Roberts, Stanford University
Eli A. Rubinstein, University of North Carolina
Nancy Signorielli, University of Pennsylvania
Dorothy G. Singer, University of Bridgeport
Jerome L. Singer, Yale University
Ronald G. Slaby, Harvard University
Bruce Watkins, University of Michigan
Tannis MacBeth Williams, University of British Columbia
John C. Wright, University of Kansas.

Dr. MURRAY. Thank you. If I could turn to the third and final summary question. "What can be done about this influence?" Last month the Attorney General's task force on family violence issued a report that included suggestions for the media.

I agree with the task force's suggestion that the networks, their affiliates and cable stations should be responsible for reducing and controlling the amount of violence shown on television but I also believe that parents, educators, and researchers should work with policymakers to encourage television executives and advertisers to reduce violence on television programming and increase the sort of programming that enhances the intellectual and emotional development of children.

The question then is how can this be done. The answers, I think, are tentative but reasonably clear. Legislation has been introduced in Congress earlier this year that would increase the number of children's programs by providing tax incentives for corporations that invest in the production of children's programs.

Other legislation has been introduced in Congress which would impose legal obligations on the networks to provide 1 hour of educational programming each day, 5 days per week, year around.

I believe that those two pieces of legislation are worth considering.

Finally, one other innovative approach to this problem of televised violence is a draft piece of legislation proposed by various consumer groups which has not yet been introduced in Congress.

With your permission Senator I would like to introduce a copy of this draft bill, entitled "The Response Time for Violent Promotions Act of 1983," for the record.

Senator SPECTER. It will be made a part of the record.

Dr. MURRAY. This suggested legislation proposes an amendment to the Communications Act of 1934 which would essentially require broadcasters to provide response time for public service messages that would warn viewers about the potentially harmful effects of viewing televised violence.

In this instance, whenever broadcasters transmit three commercial announcements for violent television programs that also include violent acts, one public service message warning of the dangers of the televised violence must be made available in that same time period.

Whether any of these measures ranging from proposed legislation to increase parental awareness such as the one just mentioned or others designed to encourage or enhance educational programming for children will succeed remains to be seen.

However, I believe that these measures are an important way in which we may begin to solve the problems caused by television violence.

Thank you very much, Senator.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Murray and the text of the proposed bill follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. JOHN P. MURRAY

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I am honored to be invited here today to testify on the impact of television violence on children's attitudes and behavior. I am Dr. John P. Murray, Senior Scientist and Director of Youth and Family Policy for the Boys Town Urban Program. I am the author of numerous books and articles on the topic of television's impact on children. I am here today on behalf of the 72,000 members of the American Psychological Association (APA). While I am testifying on behalf of the APA, it should be noted that the specific data and conclusions presented in my statement are based on research conducted by myself and others and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Association. In my testimony, I will describe some of the major research findings on the impact of televised violence and the implications that can be drawn for both public policy and individual action.

Concern about the potentially harmful effects of viewing televised violence was one of the first issues to surface during the early days of television's history. This week marks the 29th anniversary of the first Congressional hearing on the topic, which was conducted by the Senate Judiciary Committee. In the last 30 years about 900 studies, reports, and commentaries have been published concerning the impact of televised violence, and I believe that we have sufficient information to provide recommendations for public policy.

We have known for some time that television programs include a great deal of violence. Indeed, the results of more than a decade of studies conducted by a research team at the University of Pennsylvania have shown that the average level of violence in prime-time television has remained at about 5 violent acts per hour, while the level of violence in children's Saturday morning programming is much higher, about 20-25 violent acts per hour. The types of violence portrayed on the screen range from destruction of property to physical assaults that cause injury and death.

Of course, the key question is: Does the violence seen on the screen make viewers more aggressive? In my supplementary written submission, I have provided a detailed description of the research findings that address this important question. Therefore, in this testimony I would like to simply highlight some of the important issues.

The first question which needs to be asked is: <u>Are viewers of televised violence more aggressive than other people</u>? On the basis of research

evidence, I can conclude that the answer to this question is yes. Children and adults who more frequently watch violent programs tend to hold attitudes and values which favor the use of aggression to resolve conflicts. They also tend to behave more aggressively. That does not necessarily mean that television is the cause of these aggressive attitudes, values, and behaviors. It could be that those who are more aggressive just prefer more violent television programs.

So, the next question that must be asked is: Does televised violence produce aggressive behavior? Here again, the answer seems to be yes. Studies conducted with pre-schoolers, school-age children, college students, and adults confirm that viewing violence on television does lead to increases in aggressive attitudes, values, and behaviors.

Studies showing a clear link between viewing violence and behaving aggressively tend to be conducted in the highly structured settings of university laboratories and research centers, and one might ask whether findings from the laboratory are applicable to real life circumstances. So, the third question that we need to ask is: What happens in natural settings? Once again, we find that children and adults who watch televised violence more frequently tend to behave more aggressively.

For example, a study conducted by Aletha Huston, when she was a professor at Pennsylvania State University, showed that pre-school children can be influenced by cartoon violence. In this study, the pre-schoolers watched either antisocial, pro-social, or neutral television programs over a four-week period. The antisocial programs consisted of 12 half-hour episodes of Batman and Superman cartoons; the pro-social programs were 12 episodes of Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood; and the neutral programs consisted of children's films which were neither violent nor pro-social. Psychologists observed these pre-schoolers in the natural settings of the classroom or playground over a nine-week period. They found that the youngsters who watched the Batman and Superman cartoons were more likely to hit their playmates, start arguments, disobey the teacher, and be more impatient. On the other hand, the youngsters who had viewed the Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood programs were much more willing to help others, to express concern about others' feelings, to share toys, and play cooperatively.

In other research, William Belson, in a study conducted for CBS, and Leonard Eron and his colleagues at the University of Illinois, in their longitudinal studies, found that viewing televised violence in early childhood

was related to children's increased aggressive behavior during their teenage years. In addition, Leonard Eron and his colleagues, continuing their 22-year longitudinal study, have found an impressive relationship between television violence viewing at age 8 and criminal behavior through age 30.

In summary, I believe that the most reasonable statement of our knowledge about the impact of televised violence on children is the principal conclusion contained in a recent report of the National Institute of Mental Health: "The consensus among most of the research community is that violence on television does lead to aggressive behavior by children and teenagers who watch the programs. This conclusion is based on laboratory experiments and on field studies. Not all children become aggressive, of course, but the correlations between violence and aggression are positive. In magnitude, television violence is as strongly correlated with aggressive behavior as any other behavioral variable that has been measured. The research question has been moved from asking whether or not there is an effect to seeking explanations for that effect."

Of course, the final question that must be asked is: What can be done? Here, the proposals are many but the options are few.

In the recent past, the proposals have ranged from establishing a "family viewing period" during the early evening hours in which only programs deemed suitable for family entertainment would be broadcast to calls for boycotts against advertisers who support programs containing high levels of violent action. Both of these proposals have been tried and have led to considerable controversy.

Therefore, I think we must devote our attention to various ways of encouraging broadcasters to increase the pro-social messages in television programs and reduce the level of violence, and alert parents to the potentially harmful effects--especially for children--of viewing televised violence.

Last month, the Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence issued a report that included suggestions regarding the media. I agree with the Task Force's suggestion that the networks, their affiliates, and the cable stations should be held responsible for reducing and controlling the amount of violence shown on television. However, I believe that parents, educators, and researchers should work with policy makers to encourage television executives and advertisers to reduce television violence and increase pro-social programming.

There are various way to accomplish this task. For example, public

hearings such as this serve to remind broadcasters that there is indeed community concern about televised violence. Also, public statements by responsible professional and scientific organizations such as the American Medical Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the American Academy of Child Psychiatry serve to highlight these concerns about the potential harm caused by TV violence and inform the television industry about the serious nature of this problem.

However, I think we also need to encourage parents and teachers to become actively involved in monitoring and discussing the content of programs viewed by children. Similarly, we need to make more effective use of the recently developed curricula designed to enhance children's ability to become discriminating, rather than passive, television consumers.

Legislation has been introduced in Congress that would increase the number of children's programs by providing tax incentives for corporations or imposing legal obligations on networks. I would go a step further and recommend that the emphasis should be on programs that enhance children's emotional and intellectual development.

Finally, one rather innovative approach to this problem of televised violence is a draft piece of legislation, proposed by various concerned groups, which has not yet been introduced in Congress. This suggested legislation, entitled the "Response Time for Violent Promotions Act", proposes an amendment to the Communications Act of 1934, which would essentially require broadcasters to provide time for public service messages that would warn viewers about the potentially harmful effects of viewing televised violence. In this instance, whenever broadcasters transmit three promotional announcements for violent television programs, they must provide one equivalent time period for the transmission of a public service message warning of the dangers of viewing televised violence.

Whether any of these measures, ranging from the proposed legislation to increase parental awareness of the harmful effects of televised violence to public encouragement of self-regulation by the television industry, will succeed remains to be seen. However, I believe that these measures are an important way in which we may begin to solve the problems caused by television violence.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify here today on behalf of the American Psychological Association on the impact of televised violence on children. If I can be of any further assistance to the Subcommittee, please feel free to call upon me.

A BILL

To amend the Communications Act of 1934 in order to establish procedures to require responsive announcements to promotional advertising containing violent acts.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Response Time for Violent Promotions Act of 1983."

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SECTION 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares that--

(A) It is the policy of the Congress that an effective method of ameleorating the negative effects on the public health of televised violence is to provide responsible persons the opportunity to educate the public about these health hazards, especially as they relate to the promotion of aggressive behavior by children.

(B) It is further the policy of the Congress that nothing herein shall be construed to censor or restrict the right to transmit any content otherwise lawful, but rather to increase public information.

(C) It is further the policy of the Congress that providing response time is in the public interest by ingendering the fullest public debate on this important issue of public health.

RESPONSIVE ADVERTISING

SECTION 3. Part I of Title III of the Communications Act of 1934 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section;

"RESPONSIVE ADVERTISING FOR VIOLENT PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISING"

Sec. 331. (a) Definitions:

For purposes of this section-

(A) "Violence" or "violent act" means the deliberate and hostile use of overt force, or the immediate and direct threat thereof, by one individual coercively against another individual;

(B) "licensee" means any television broadcast station operating on a channel regularly assigned to its community by the FCC;

(C) "cable system operator" means that local business entity which offers for sale services of a cable television system in the system community.

(D) "network" means a national organization distributing programs in interstate commerce for a substantial part of each broadcast day to television stations in all parts of the United States, generally by interconnection systems, satellite, or other tele-communications medium;

(E) "promotional advertisement" means a spot announcement advertising future programming, and a spot announcement for non-television entertainment, such as theater movies, but does not include advertisements for commercial products;

(F) "locally produced or originated" means promotional advertisements subject to the exclusive control of the licensee or cable system operator;

(G) "cable programmer" means an entity providing programming and promotional advertising on a national or regional basis to local cable systems, generally by satellite transmission.

Sec.331 (b) Response Time

1. TELEVISION NETWORKS

(A) Whenever a network transmits to its affiliates a promotional advertisement graphically depicting and/or orally describing one or more violent acts, it shall record the date, time and length of the advertisement in a log maintained for that purpose;

(B) Within 15 days of the end of each calendar month, the network shall file with the Commission a copy of the log and a summary of the log showing the number of announcements transmitted during the preceeding month, catagorized by the length of the announcements, which filing shall be made available for public inspection within 24 hours of receipt.

(C) Based upon these filings the network shall make available upon request to a responsible individual or organization response time in the following manner--

(i) The broadcast day shall be divided into three day-parts: 5 p.m.-midnight, midnight-7 a.m. and 7 a.m.-5 p.m.;

(ii) response time shall be made available on a ratio of at least one response of the same length for each three promotional advertisements;

(iii) the response time shall be made available during the same day-part as the promotional advertisement was transmitted;

(iv) the responsive advertisement shall be in the nature of information and/or educational material about the effects of violent acts on the public health, but shall not be used to promote any individual or organization, to solicit funds, or to make negative comments about the network or a specific program;

(v) if more than one responsible individual or organization requests response time, the network shall, in the reasonable exercise of its discretion, make a good faith determination of an equitable allocation of the response time;

(vi) a request for response time must be made within 30 days after the network filing of its log of promotional advertising is made public, or the right to response time for the calendar month covered by the log shall expire.

(D) If a network fails to maintain or file a log of promotional advertisements, fails to include in the log a promotional advertisement containing a violent act, fails to make response time available, or in any other respect fails to comply with the provisions of this section, after being unable to resolve the matter directly with the network, an individual or organization may file a complaint with the Commission, under procedures established by the Commission through rulemaking under 5 U.S.C. Sec. 553.

2. LOCAL PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISING

(A) Whenever a licensee broadcasts a locally produced or originated promotional advertisement graphically depicting and/or orally describing one or more violent acts, within 24 hours it shall record the date, time and length of the advertisement in a log maintained for that purpose, which shall be available for public inspection during normal business hours.

(B) Based upon these logs, the licensee shall make available upon request to a responsible individual or organization response time in the following manner--

(i) The broadcast day shall be divided into three day-parts: 5 p.m.-midnight, midnight-7 a.m. and 7 a.m.-5 p.m.;

(ii) response time shall be made available on a ratio of at least one response of the same length for each three promotional advertisements;

(iii) the response time shall be made available during the same day-part as the promotional advertisement was transmitted;

(iv) the responsive advertisement shall be in the nature of information and/or educational material about the effects of violent acts on the public health, but shall not be used to promote any individual or organization, to solicit funds, or to make negative comments about the licensee or a specific program;

(v) if more than one responsible individual or organization requests response time, the licensee shall, in the reasonable exercise of its discretionk make a good faith determination of an equitable allocation of the response time;

(vi) a request for response time must be made within 30 days after the end of the calendar month in which the promotional advertisement was broadcast, or the right to response time for that calendar month shall expire.

(C) If a licensee fails to maintain a log of promotional advertisements, fails to include in the log a promotional advertisement containing violence,, fails to make response time available, or in any other respect fails to comply with the provisions of this section, after being unable to resolve the matter directly with the licensee, an individual or organization may file a complaint with the Commission, under procedures established by the Commission through rulemaking under 5 U.S.C. Sec. 553.

3. CABLE PROGRAMMER PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISING

(A) Whenever a cable programmer transmits to a cable system operator a promotional advertisement graphically depicting and/or orally describing one or more violent acts, it shall record the date, time and length of the advertisement in a log maintained for that purpose.

(B) Within 15 days of the end of each calendar month, the programmer shall file with the Commission a copy of the log and summary of the log showing the number of announcements transmitted during the preceeding month, catagorized by the length of the announcements, which filing shall be made available for public inspection within 24 hours of receipt.

(C) Based upon these filings, the programmer shall make available upon request to a responsible individual or organization response time in the following manner--

(i) The broadcast day shall be divided into three day-parts: 5 p.m.-midnight, midnight-7 a.m. and 7 a.m.-5 p.m.;

(ii) response time shall be made available on a ratio of at least one response of the same length for each three promotional advertisements;

(iii) the response time shall be made available during the same day-part as the promotional advertisement was transmitted;

(iv) the responsive advertisement shall be in the nature of information and/or educational material about the effects of violent acts on the public health, but shall not be used to promote any individual or organization, to solicit funds, or to make negative comments about the programmer or a specific program;

(v) if more than one responsible individual or organization requests response time, the programmer shall, in the reasonable exercise of its discretion, make a good faith determination of an equitable allocation of the response time;

(vi) a request for response time must be made within 30 days after the programmer filing of its log of promotional advertising is made public, or the right to response time for that calendar month covered by the log shall expire.

(D) If a programmer fails to maintain or file a log of promotional advertisements, fails to include in the log a promotional advertisement containing a violent act, fails to make response time available, or in any other respect fails to comply with the provisions of this section, after being unable to resolve the matter directly with the programmer, an individual or organization may file a complaint with the Commission, under procedures established by the Commission through rulemaking under 5 U.S.C. Sec. 553.

4. LOCAL CABLE PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISING

(A) Whenever a local cable operator transmits a locally produced or originated promotional advertisement graphically depicting and/or orally describing one or more violent acts, it shall record the date, time and length of the advertisement in a log maintained for that purpose, which shall be available for public inspection during normal business hours.

(B) Based upon these logs, the local cable programmer shall make available upon request to a responsible individual or orgainization response time in the following manner--

(i) The broadcast day shall be divided into three day-parts: 5 p.m.-midnight, midnight-7 a.m. and 7 a.m.-5 p.m.;

(ii) response time shall be made available on a ratio of at least one response of the same length for each three promotional advertisements;

(iii) the response time shall be made available during the same day-part as the promotional advertisement was transmitted;

(iv) the responsive advertisement shall be in the nature of information and /or educational material about the effects of violent acts on the public health, but shall not be used to promote any individual or organization, to solicit funds, or to make negative comments about the operator or a specific program;

(v) if more than one responsible individual or organization requests response time, the operator shall, in the reasonable exercise of its discretion make a good faith determination of an equitable allocation of the response;

(vi) a response time must be made within 30 days after the end of the calendar month in which the promotional advertisement was transmitted, or the right to response time for that calendar month shall expire;

(vii) the response must be carried on the same cable channel as the promotional advertisement.

(D) If an operator fails to maintain or file a log of promotional advertisements, fails to include in the log a promotional advertisement containing a violent act, fails to make response time available, or in any other respect fails to comply with the provisions of this section, after being unable to resolve the matter directly with the operator, an individual or organization may file a complaint with the Commission, under procedures established by the Commission through rulemaking under 5 U.S.C. Sec. 553.

Sec. 331(c) Commission Action

1. Within 45 days after enactment, the Commission shall publish a notice of proposed rulemaking, seeking comments on proposed rules covering the following topics--

(A) logging and filing procedures for networks, licensees, cable programmers and local cable operators;

(B) procedures for administratively processing complaints received under this Act;

(C) sanctions against parties which the Commission finds have violated this Act, which may include imposition of additional response time requirements; consideration of the violation during consideration of license renewal; placing a record of the complaint in a licensee's file; civil fines; and such other sanctions as are contained in Title IV, section 401 et seq., and Title V, sections 501 et seq., of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended; and

(D) any other matters necessary for the carrying out of this Act.

2. Within 180 days of enactment, the Commission shall make public final rules, which shall become effective upon being published in the Federal Register.

3. The Commission shall deem as timely filed complaints filed during the 180 day period after enactment, and Commission shall act on them promptly after rules become effective.

Sec. 331(d) Federal Reports Act

The provisions of the Federal Reports Act shall not apply to the logging and filing requirements contained herein.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Dr. Murray.

Our next witness is Dr. Jib Fowles, professor of human sciences and humanities at the University of Houston, author of a book "Television Viewers Versus Media Snobs."

Thank you for joining us, Dr. Fowles.

STATEMENT OF DR. JIB FOWLES

Dr. FOWLES. Thank you, Senator. I am going to take a slightly different stance from everything that has been said so far. I have a 5-year-old daughter, the same age as Courtney and Crystal, and she suffered one of life's little disappointments recently when the "Dukes of Hazzard" was taken off the air in the city of Houston. That was her favorite show.

Her grief disappeared, however, when she discovered and embraced the "A-Team." Why do children like her by tens of millions seek out action-filled, even violent television programs? What does the content do to them or for them?

To answer questions like these, we first have to distinguish between children's leisure hour viewing taking place at the end of the day and on weekends, and their weekday morning viewing.

A child's week is not unlike an adult's week in that weekdays are times when the child's work so to speak goes on. He or she is learning the thousands of things needed to mature into our culture.

Several morning television shows, "Captain Kangaroo," in the past, "Sesame Street," "Mr. Rogers," oblige this by teaching as they entertain. However, at the end of the day on weekends, children are looking for the same things that adults want from the medium, shows that help them rest and repair.

A recent and ingenious study by a University of Chicago social scientist has demonstrated that television is, indeed, the great relaxer for Americans. He outfitted 104 adults with beepers and had

them paged at random times during the week, and I gather up to the hour of 10 in the evening, to ascertain their activity and mood.

He reports, "Most notable among the findings is that TV watching is experienced as the most relaxing of all activities." My contention is that children seek and get the same results from their leisure hour viewing.

The fantasy mayhem on the television screen, sometimes in the form of cartoons and sometimes not, helps the child to discharge tensions and animosities. The child identifies with the characters and action and vicariously vents accumulated stress.

Although people tend to look back at their own childhoods as carefree times, the truth of the matter is that the socializing of a child is frequently a trial for all involved. It is unavoidable that the child experience some degree of frustration and resentment.

Fantasy aggression via television action can be the antidote to the child's real world pressures and constraints. Just as adults turn to action adventure shows and football games to discharge some of the mental strains in their lives, so children turn to the explosive shows which they sense will help them maintain psychological balance.

Children learn early in life the difference between what is just-pretend and what is not, between fantasy and reality, and after the ages of 6 or 7 infrequently confuse the two.

The fantasy violence on their favorite programs very rarely translates into inappropriate or aggressive acts. When we stop to consider the enormity of the audience, nearly 100 percent of American children, and that vast volume of leisure hour programming that they watch, then the amazing fact becomes how relatively little negative influence this exposure produces. The benefits of television fantasy action come virtually without adverse social costs.

These views, as I am sure you know, about the benefits of television fantasy action for children are uncommon among my colleagues in the academic world. Their agenda, I believe, is not to understand why children are drawn to television at the end of the day or the end of the week, but instead to revile a medium which they see as plebian when they want to think of themselves as patricians.

My colleagues have generated an enormous amount of research on television effects over the 30-year history of the medium, the greater bulk of this research supposedly demonstrating the evil effects of television viewing. I have elsewhere referred to this literature as "one of the grandest travesties in the uneven history of social science." In my judgment, it is consigned to oblivion.

But there is one study that I wish to call to the committee's attention. This study was conducted by Mr. Seymour Feshbach, head of the psychology department at the University of California at Los Angeles, and was published in 1971 as the book "Television and Aggression."

Given the size and rigor of that study, I find it puzzling that it goes unnoticed in the National Institute of Mental Health's recent "volume," Television and Behavior, edited by David Pearl.

Briefly put, Feshbach took several hundred semidelinquent teenage males who were living in boys' homes and randomly assigned

half of them to a television diet of violent shows and the other half to nonviolent shows.

After 6 weeks of exposure, it was determined that the boys who had been watching violent action adventure programs were less rowdy than their friends who had been on the nonviolent diet. Fantasy violence had reduced real world violence. I believe this study captures the true role of television fantasy in the lives of the young.

Permit me to summarize my testimony today by quoting from my book "Television Viewers versus Media Snobs."

> To relax and recover—that is the purpose television serves for children just as it does for adults. The most striking feature of children's television is not how different it is from adults', but how similar. In both cases the fantasies—which often covertly or overtly deal in aggression—help to reduce the viewers' mental strains by allowing us to indulge in bursts of laughter or vicarious plummeting. Children's minds are very much like ours, and so are their needs.

Thank you for allowing me to testify before this committee and to bring in these divergent viewpoints.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Dr. Fowles.

Well, the score is 2 to 2 now in extra innings. [Laughter.] Dr. Pearl, let us give you the chance at first rebuttal. The first question before the house is does television stimulate acts of violence which move toward antisocial or criminal behavior.

Dr. Fowles says not too gently, Dr. Pearl, that the studies on your side are the gravest travesty. What do you think or what could you prove?

Dr. PEARL. It is fortunate that in this country everyone is entitled to their opinion even if they ignore the existing facts or interpret it in a way which is idiosyncratic.

I would have to say, to start out, that the NIMH report did discuss the theory of catharsis. I should mention that Seymour Feshbach, who was referred to by Dr. Fowles as the author of the study, stressing the catharsis effect, has since essentially changed his mind with respect to the catharsis theory and the potential influences of television.

Not a single major study conducted in the last decade or so really supports the catharsis theory in any significant fashion. Research has indicated that rather than draining children and others of their tensions, that aggressive fantasies actually are associated with increased aggressiveness.

Now, the point was made in the last presentation, that children's minds and needs are very much like ours, that is, adults. As a clinical and research psychologist with a background in developmental psychology, I say that these various assertions runs very much counter to what developmental psychologist generally know and understand with respect to the needs of children and their development.

Senator SPECTER. Dr. Pearl, if you had to give the strongest evidence at hand about a causal connection between violence on television, antisocial or criminal conduct by children viewing it, what would you say.

Dr. PEARL. Well, I can, of course, come out with, anecdotal accounts as Phil Harding indicated. We do have those. There are many of those.

Senator SPECTER. Specific cases where there is criminal conduct by a child following viewing of television violence?

Dr. PEARL. Yes; but I prefer to go to studies rather than to anecdotal accounts. I can cite those if you wish. We can talk about the Eron study which was mentioned before by Dr. Murray. This study has found that subjects who 22 years ago were the heaviest viewers of televised violence, as contrasted to those who watched relatively little of such programs at that time, have a much higher New York State public record for such things as spousal abuse, drunken driving, and involvement in a number of other kinds of criminal acts. That is one kind of study.

Another study reported in 1978 was the well known Belson study in England, actually supported by CBS. The study was of 1,650 youths and compared heavy and light viewers of television violence with respect to their own accounts of their behaviors.

Belson reported clear-cut evidence that those who were heavy viewers of television violence had a much higher incidence of serious antisocial action such as assaults on others, attempted rapes, robbery and such.

And he determined that this was not likely due to the reverse hypothesis, that this relationship occured because the initially most aggressive and violent boys were more likely to watch violent television.

Senator SPECTER. Let us turn to Mr. Harding at that point because that picks up one of the lines which he stressed where he made the statement that TV is not implicated, to the extent that it does happen that these copycat violence figures would have been motivated to engage in that conduct in any event.

Mr. Harding, the thrust of what you have said, as I view it is, is that there is no research on the social consequences of violence and antisocial behavior which directly links it. Your position more is the case has not been established one way or another, that the evidence is inconclusive.

Mr. HARDING. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. But if you had to give a judgment, very frequently the Congress has to decide matters having two witnesses on one side and two witnesses on the other. We have got to decide whether to act or not to act.

If you had to give your professional judgment with the evidence not necessarily being conclusive as you have characterized, what do you think? Does television violence have any significant factor in causing antisocial or criminal conduct?

Mr. HARDING. I have not seen evidence of it. I have been in communications research and, on and off, have been involved with the television-violence issue, for the past 15 years. I simply have not seen persuasive data on this issue.

I am talking here as a professional researcher and not as a member of the television industry. The body of research, as presently comprised, for reasons expressed in my statement and for other reasons as well, simply does not provide support for making that kind of a policy decision. It just is not there.

Senator SPECTER. What should we do to gain the necessary research data to make a final judgment?

Mr. HARDING. Well, in my view, I think what has to be done is more rigorous and more valid kinds of research, the kinds of studies that CBS did, in fact, begin to fund in the late 1960's.

Senator SPECTER. What happened to it since the late 1960's?

Mr. HARDING. Well, it was long-term research. It continued for a period of years.

Senator SPECTER. So it is still in process?

Mr. HARDING. No; it was completed and we will probably start more of it again. These things tend to go in cycles.

Senator SPECTER. The conclusion was what? That the evidence is inconclusive?

Mr. HARDING. We funded four major studies essentially. Two in conjunction with an industry committee, called the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children, and two on our own.

One of the four studies was the Feshbach study that Jib Fowles talked about. Another was a replication of the Feshbach study which is never found in the literature, but which was even or more expensive and elaborate than the Feshbach research. That was done by William Wells who was then at the University of Chicago. It was a replication to see if Feshback's findings would come out the same way, and one does not come across references to that study very often.

The other two were the Milgram and Shotland studies on the imitation of violent content in television programming and the fourth was the Belson study.

In each case, the investigators were given full rights of designing the research, implementing it and interepreting and publishing their findings. CBS expressly relinquished all rights of interposition so the researchers were able to go on and do it as they wanted to.

That was the procedure under which we funded the research, and to come back to your question, we really found nothing in those four studies to implicate television's depictions of violence in the forms of antisocial behavior measured.

Senator SPECTER. Dr. Fowles, let us come back to you on the Feshbach study which you had used as a basis for your contentions, and you heard Dr. Pearl's statement that his group studies had taken into account the catharsis theory and that Dr. Feshbach had, in fact, recounted his views. Would you care to respond?

Dr. FOWLES. Yes. David Pearl must know another Seymour Feshbach than the one that I know. I have interviewed the man and published that interview. It is on the record. The man, to this day, stands behind that study. That is all I can say to that matter.

As far as the Eron study goes, which is another large and important study, the problem with the Eron studies, plural because they are very extensive and they have gone on over a long period of time, is when he comes to try to explain the correlation between television viewing, violence viewing and subsequent violent behavior, it is clear that this does exist, that people who see a lot of violent television when they are young become violent when they are older.

The question is, is this a cause and effect relationship. I do not believe it is. I think most probably there is an intermediate vari-

able of the harshness of the child's family life, and in fact, Eron points to this in his writing.

Senator SPECTER. Let us move on to the next question, that if there is a role for the Federal Government or let us put it different. Is there really a governmental role? Given our very high value on first amendment rights of freedom of expression, should the Government participate at all here, recognizing that the courts have drawn a distinction between the print media and television and radio, electronics media?

Dr. Murray, you have outlined a series of alternatives in your testimony, the suggestion which comes from the Attorney General's task force, the tax incentives which is the way of dangling a carrot, so to speak, a positive requirement that there be an hour of educational programs or positive requirement of response time. Do you think that the Federal Government ought to step in here, and if so, what should the Federal Government do?

Dr. MURRAY. Yes, I think in each of those instances there is really no threat to first amendment protections. The tax credit provides inducements for enhancing and expanding programming for children. Moreover, if you expand educational programming for children, what is called social or nonviolent programming, you may reduce the level of violence on television simply by displacing the more aggressive cartoons or other kinds of violent programming.

The same thing is true with the response time to violent commercials legislation. It in no way infringes on the telecasting of violent programs, and it deals directly with the sensitive issue of gratuitous violence, violence that has absolutely no purpose in the programming and is not central to the plot. It is hard to argue that violent acts in a station promotional announcement are intrinsic to the development of a plot of a particular program or the drama that is unfolding.

So I think there is a role for government to play in all those areas that I have outlined.

Second, let me just say that I think the arguments that have gone back and forth about whether there is or is not an effect of violence on television tend to turn on one person saying, "Well, I like this study and my reading of this study shows this and my reading of that study shows that."

You cannot do that. Over the past 30 years, the one thing that we have learned is that we must look at the whole pattern of studies. There are 900 or so reports and papers published on this issue over the past 30 years. You cannot single out an individual study and say, "Well, this one proves it. This one disproves it," because each will have its own strengths and weaknesses.

But, taken as a whole, I and other colleagues who are knowledgeable in this area conclude that violence on television does produce or is involved in the production of aggressive behavior in children.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Harding, I suspect I know your response. Do you agree with Dr. Murray that government has a role in limiting what television can do?

Mr. HARDING. No, I do not agree with that for various reasons, some of which are better discussed by lawyers, but also as a researcher and as a citizen who values the freedom of expression we have had for so long in this country. But suppose we suspend first

amendment arguments and say, yes, the Government can come in and mandate an hour a day of educational programming for children.

You then have the situation in which the child decides not to watch that hour of programming and instead turns to another channel. So you better not have anything else on the other channels that might appeal to him.

Senator SPECTER. Well, suppose you mandate the child as well as the television network?

Mr. HARDING. You really would have to do that. I have gone through this kind of analysis repeatedly in which you have so-called quality programming—and the definition of that varies with the observer—such as the educational material on public television, "Sesame Street," the "Electric Company" and so on. I have looked at situations in which those programs have been up against virtually anything—it could be children's programs like "Tom and Jerry," and "Woody the Woodpecker," the 5 o'clock news, it could be anything. And whenever there is some other choice, the other choice seems always to draw a much larger child audience.

The audiences to the children's educational programs, 2- to 5-year-olds, 6- to 11-year-olds, are very, very small compared to the audiences to programs that really entertain children. So it is one thing to mandate an hour, or any amount of time, of educational programs and quite another to get the child to watch such programming when there is some other alternative available to him.

And I would submit that as time goes by, and we have been seeing more and more that basic cable, video cassettes, pay cable are all providing additional viewing choices for children, even beyond what is being offered on conventional broadcast television.

Senator SPECTER. Let me pick up on cable and ask one final question. I would ask each of you gentlemen to respond to it and that is on the question of pornography and the X-rated cable programs which are available, and given the tremendous number of latchkey children and given the availability of cable on a broad basis and X-rated cable programs, what response, if any, should the Federal Government make to that particular situation?

Let us start with you, Dr. Fowles, and go right across.

Dr. FOWLES. Well, this is a very difficult situation because it gets us right in the middle of all these first amendment issues and so forth. My own feeling would be that incentives ought to be in place to help the cable industry not show that program during daytime hours. That is a personal point of view.

So I do believe in this one instance that some pressure and some legislation is in order.

Senator SPECTER. Dr. Murray.

Dr. MURRAY. I think the cable operators should be encouraged to restrict that programming and to provide lockout options for parents.

I should say in passing that research in that area is fairly conclusive. In fact, it is Dr. Feshbach—the same Feshbach that Dr. Fowles thinks he knows, and apparently does not know—that has shown conclusively that violent sexual behavior does increase the likelihood of holding attitudes favorable toward rape or physical abuse of women.

Senator SPECTER. Dr. Pearl.

Dr. PEARL. Essentially I would agree with what Dr. Murray said. It is very difficult to come up with any kind of a solution to this problem and will satisfy every one and will not run into first amendment rights.

But we do need to do something and I would suggest that our solution will have to proceed along the lines mentioned by Dr. Murray.

Senator SPECTER. Let me put one little bit of dimension extra on it for you, Mr. Harding, and that is, the network soap shows, which have explicit bedroom scenes, as well as the cable, which are in the clearly X category. Do you think that there is any role for the Government in either categories A or B?

Mr. HARDING. There exists, as I indicated in my statement the networks' program practices departments, whose people review the game shows, the soaps, prime time, everything in terms of overall suitability and taste and have been doing so for a number of years.

I think the assumption is made—and I think it's a realistic one—that the bulk of that audience is adult. This is not to say that there are not some children in the audience, but it is very largely adult.

And I think that the existence of such a mechanism obviates, to a large extent the need for a Government presence in this area.

Senator SPECTER. Gentlemen, thank you very much. I regret the limitation on time. We very much appreciate your coming, and we know that many of you have come from long distance, from Texas and Nebraska, from New York, and we are grateful, and we regret the very sharp limitations on time which we have. We just cannot really get into this as fully in the hearing.

Your statements are very helpful and you have referred to a number of additional sources which the subcommittee will go into. It is my sense that we are going to be hearing a great deal more about this subject in the 99th Congress, and I think that will come to pass significantly as a result of the Attorney General's report and significantly as a result of what we have seen on a sharp upsurge of child molestation for whatever reason you have across the country in the day care center problem.

It is very difficult to establish causal connection and really no action it with sufficient precision in a legislative sense, and even where causal connection is established, the very important first amendment rights which we are very much concerned about in the Congress. There are a number of legislative options which are open, all the way from simply holding hearings like this which bring some public attention to the problem, and the networks are concerned, and the cables are concerned, and there is a response when these hearings are held and your words are all gauged and networks are here and cables are here, X-rated cables we do not qualify, but there is attention paid just to this kind of a hearing, and it has an impact as congressional hearings have had over the years without anything more or whether the level ought to be simply as the Attorney General has done in his task force report and made suggestions or whether there ought to be tax incentives. We ought to get the Internal Revenue Code involved in influencing behavior.

Again, the issue of causal connection, or whether it ought to go beyond some mandates and some forceful action by the Congress and if so, whether that would be constitutional.

My own sense is that the networks have to take a very hard look at the soaps in the afternoon. I am not about to tell the networks what to do, but I think that is an area that has to be examined.

Having done quite a number of hearings from the question of pornography and juveniles, there is a very sharp line of proof which is very strong about adverse consequences on juveniles from seeing pornography, and Dr. Murray touched on it in his closing.

To the extent that the cables are available on X-rated materials that latchkey children can see, that perhaps is the clearest area of demonstrable or documentable problems on causing antisocial conduct of a wide variety, in forming psyches leading to acts of sexual aggression.

I would be hopeful that there would be some industry response among the cables on the X-rated line which would eliminate the need for any congressional action or any FCC action. But I think that is an area which we are going to be taking a very hard look at immediately in the 99th Congress.

These are not easy questions, any of them, on a variety of lines, and we are very grateful to you for the very extensive thought that you have put into your statements, your research before and we intend to continue the dialog and we thank you all for coming.

[Whereupon, at 11:54 a.m., the subcommittee adjourned at the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

GRATUITOUS VIOLENCE AND EXPLOITIVE SEX: WHAT ARE THE LESSONS?
(Including Violence Profile No. 13)

Prepared for the Study Committee of the Communications Commission of the National Council of Churches hearing in New York on September 21, 1984

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I appear in the capacity of an individual researcher and not as a representative of our School, University, or any organization. The research I am reporting comes from our ongoing project called Cultural Indicators designed to investigate the nature of television programming and its relationships to viewer conceptions of social reality.

We have conducted the longest-running and still only comprehensive and cumulative research on what it means to grow up and live with television. The project was originated in 1967. It has been supported by funds from the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, the National Institute of Mental Health, the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy, The American Medical Association, the Administration on Aging, and the National Science Foundation. It is a team effort conducted by my colleagues Drs. Larry Gross, Michael Morgan, Nancy Signorielli and myself.

In this report I will highlight our Violence Profile No. 13, summarize our research on viewer conceptions of relevant aspects of reality, and discuss findings related to sexual portrayals and conceptions. Detailed tabulations, figures, and bibliographies can be found at the end of the report.

Violence Profile No. 13

Our measures of violence are based on the reliable observation of clear-cut and unambiguous episodes of physical violence (in any context) on network dramatic programs aired in prime time and during weekend daytime (children's) program hours. These measures include the prevalence of violence in the programs, the rate of violence per program and per hour, and the involvement of major characters in various types of violence as violents or victims (or both). The measures are combined into composite indicators of violence and a Violence Index to facilitate comparisons over time and across programming hours and networks. The Violence Index meets the statistical and empirical requirements of an Index. The separate measures and indicators that compose the Index are also included in the tabulations attached to the report so that they may be examined separately. The findings since 1967 are reported in Appendix Tables 1-15 and illustrated on Figures 1-4. These results include new data for the 1982-83 and 1983-84 seasons, and comprise Violence Profile No. 13.

The overall Violence Index for the last two seasons remained close to the average of our monitoring results since 1967. However, while prime time violence fell slightly below the 17-year average, weekend daytime (children's programs) violence rose far above it, including a record high in 1982-83. The three major networks tended to converge; differences for the last two seasons are negligible.

The relatively lower level of violence during the prime time "family hour" that persisted during the '70s vanished in the '80s. In fact, the "family hour" when most children are in the audience, became more violent. For example, the rate of violent incidents on programs aired 8-9 p.m. was 5.4 and 6.0 for the last two seasons, respectively, while comparable figures for 9-11 p.m. were 4.1 and 4.2 (See Tables 1-5 and Figures 1-4).

Violence in children's weekend programs reached a record high in 1982-83 and remained above the 17-year level in 1983-84. The rate during the first period was 30.3 violent incidents per hour. The rate

for the second period was 25.5 per hour. The 17-year average is 20 violent incidents per hour.

The saturation of children's programs with violence (consistently 5 to 7 times higher than in prime time) comes at a time when the regulatory mechanisms of public participation and public interest are being dismantled and funding for public television -- the remaining source of quality programming for children -- is severely cut.

Television certainly did not invent violence; it just put it on the assembly line. Only television reaches virtually all homes with the same pattern of images and messages. Unlike other media, television is used relatively non-selectively. It is a ritual, a common symbolic environment into which children are born and whose inescapable messages help shape and maintain common conceptions of life, society, and the world.

Video mayhem pervades the typical American home in which the television set is on an average of 7 hours a day. Cable seems only to increase the penetration of its patterns into everyday life (Morgan and Rothschild, 1983). For the past 17 years, at least, our children grew up and we all lived with a steady diet of about 16 entertaining acts of violence (2 of them lethal) in prime time alone every night, and probably dozens if not hundreds more for our children every weekend. We have been immersed in a tide of violent representations that is historically unprecedented and shows no real sign of receding.

What are the lessons?

The Social Role of Violence

Even more significant than the sheer amount of televised violence is its role on television and in the lives of viewers. Defining that role as only or primarily related to inciting aggression and potential threats to law and order has been the great media game that tended to make most violence studies, reports, and hearings the social and political dead ends they have been. We have concentrated our studies

of the past few years on exploring all the potential lessons that might be related to exposure to violence-laden television and have come to conclusions very different from the conventional concerns.

Our research suggests lessons more far-reaching than the instigation of occasional acts of violence, no matter how disruptive and tragic they might be. We have concluded that violence is one means of distributing power in the symbolic (and real) world. While the convergence of research on the subject indicates that exposure to violence does occasionally incite and often desensitize, our findings indicate that for most viewers television's mean and violent world tends to demonstrate and cultivate a pattern of inequality and domination.

Humans threaten to hurt or kill, and actually do so, mostly to scare, terrorize, and impose their will upon others. Symbolic violence carries the same message. It is a show of force and demonstration of power. It is the quickest and most dramatic demonstration of who can get away with what against whom.

Violence as a scenario of social relationships reflects the structure of power in society and tends to cultivate acceptance of that structure. If we take a particular social group and divide the number of those who fall victim of violence by the number who victimize others, we can obtain a relative indicator of risk and vulnerability for that group. For example, for every 10 American men characters who commit violence on television, 11 American men and 12 foreign men fall victim to it. But for every 10 American women whose roles call for inflicting violence on others, 13 American women and 23 foreign women suffer violence. A fuller indication of the reverse pecking order of the world of prime time drama (the groups whose ratio of victimization to violence is highest on television) can be seen in the following list:

For every 10 violents in each of these groups, the number of victims in the same group is:

Foreign women	23
Nonwhite women	22
Older women	19
Girls	19
Young women	18
White women	16
Older men	15
Boys	14

It is clear that women, young and old people, and some minorities rank as the most vulnerable to victimization on television. We have also found that symbolic victimization on television and real world fear among women and minorities, even if contrary to the facts, are highly related (Morgan, 1983).

Heavy viewers are most likely to express the feeling of living in that self-reinforcing cycle of the "mean world." Our analysis of large scale surveys (reported in detail in the articles cited in the bibliography) indicates how the cycle works. Responses to questions about chances of encountering violence, safety of neighborhoods, fear of crime, etc., have been combined into an Index of Images of Violence. Table 16 and Figure 5 show that most heavy viewers in every education, age, income, sex, newspaper reading and neighborhood category express a greater sense of insecurity and apprehension than do light viewers in the same groups. (Previous results also show that heavy viewers are more likely to acquire new locks, watchdogs and guns "for protection.")

The data show sizable group differences, reflecting inequalities of risk and power. Even though most heavy viewers feel more at risk than light viewers, the most vulnerable to the "mean world" syndrome are women, older people, those with lower education and income, those who do not read newspapers regularly, and those who live in large cities.

However, on some questions some groups respond differently. Television viewing may blur some distinctions and bring groups closer together into what we call the television "mainstream." Viewing may also leave some groups relatively unaffected while making others extremely responsive to the television image.

Figure 6 shows the "mainstreaming" implications of viewing. Those who live in suburbs and non-metropolitan areas are so convinced that "crime is rising" that television adds little or nothing to that perception. But those who live in cities (small and large) express an equally near-unanimous belief in the rising crime rate only if they are heavy viewers.

Similarly, high and medium income (but not low income) respondents over-estimate their chances of becoming involved in violence if they are heavy viewers. The more affluent heavy viewers share the violent "mainstream" with lower income respondents.

These group differences illustrate the complex interplay of demographic and real world factors and television viewing. On the whole, the most general and prevalent association with television viewing is a heightened sense of living in a "mean world" of violence and danger.

I believe that an unequal and corrosive sense of insecurity and mistrust invites not only aggression but also exploitation and repression. Fearful people are more dependent, more easily manipulated and controlled, more susceptible to deceptively simple, strong, tough measures and hard-line postures --- both political and religious. They may accept and even welcome repression if it promises to relieve their insecurities. That is the deeper problem of violence-laden television.

Exploitive Sex

It should come as no surprise, at this point, that sex, as much as violence, is an expression of a social relationship. Although they are opposites in that violence is conflict while sex is (or should be)

cooperative, they are similar in their demonstration of either inequality or the struggle toward equity and mutuality.

Our own monitoring and studies by others (see "Journal of Communication Articles on Sex in Violence" in the bibliography) show that more explicit and more permissive sexual references (and occasional portrayals) have increased since the mid 70's. However, while television may have become more sexy, it has not become significantly less sexist. The combination of the two trends makes for exploitive sex as a nightly staple of prime time entertainment.

Most nudity and other forms of explicit vulnerability depicted on television is female; most assertion of power is male. Although the proportion of female leads has increased, men still outnumber women 3 to 1 in prime time television drama, and most women are still cast in more restricted and dependent roles than in real life.

The lessons? We have constructed a "Sexism Index" from responses to National Opinion Research Center General Social Surveys that indicate a sexist orientation. These express beliefs that women are not suited to politics, should not work outside the home if their husbands can support them, and should take care of running their home but leave running the country to men. Those who subscribed to all these propositions were grouped into demographically matched low, medium, and high television viewing groups. The results are given in Table 17 and Figure 7.

The more television viewers watch the more sexist their orientation. In the typical "mainstreaming" fashion, the least sexist groups (young people and those who call themselves liberals) exhibit the greatest differences between heavy and light viewers. Furthermore, while most viewers become more sexist, one group of low-income viewers, the most traditional and sexist as light viewers, approach the television mainstream from the opposite direction: the heavy viewers among them are less sexist than their light viewing counterparts. So while self-styled liberals and moderates join the more sexist

television mainstream, for the most traditional and bigoted viewers television seems to be a relatively "liberalizing" experience.

The Politics of Exploitive Violence and Sex

The television experience blurs many traditional distinctions, cultivates a realtively insecure and anxious attitude toward others and the world, and tends to maintain or even enhance feelings of inequality of place and power. The mechanisms of representation and cultivation are resistant to substantial and lasting change (and tend to cultivate similar resistance to change) because they work well for the institutions producing it and because television is relatively insulated from public participation by either the ballot box or the box office.

The dramatic ingredients of mechanical violence and exploitive sex are produced on the cultural assembly line for great corporations. The conventional construction of the issue is both ironic and deceptive. It asks only if media violence and sex are the CAUSE of aggression or immorality. Of course, while complex behavior is not "caused" by a simple exposure, frequent and massive doses to media violence and brutal pornography can desensitize and incite. But that is only the tip of an iceberg of different complexion.

Exploitive symbolic violence and sex may not be threats to the social order as much as mechanisms of exisitng inequalities and of social control. The research shows both incitation of the few and integration of the many into the prevailing hierarchy of powers. That explains why conservative industries keep producing it despite protests and pressures, and why any attempt to explore existing economic constraints and to channel the flow into a freer and more humane direction meets furious political resistance.

About eight years ago, the networks successfully defeated the efforts of legislators, citizens, and public organization to look into the structural causes of their manufacturing of violence as a cheap but

effective industrial ingredient of mass-cultural production. The full story of that counterattack has never been told.

Briefly, congressional investigations in the late 50's and early 60's resulted in the first round of network promises, but no action. The National Commission of the Causes and Prevention of Violence in the late 60's, which sponsored the first of our violence profiles, came to the same conclusion as investigations before and since, and with the then existing evidence behind it. The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee launched the most ambitious program of media studies ever undertaken, and confirmed the same verdict, providing ample scientific support for a broad movement of citizens' organizations. That movement led to a series of congressional hearings, first in the Senate under the leadership of John Pastore, and then in the House under the guidance first of Torbert Macdonald and then Lionel Van Deerlin. Finally, in 1977, after many years of investigations and hearings, all pointing in the same direction, the House subcommittee on communications drafted a report which instructed its staff "to explore fully the structure of the broadcasting industry in order to enable the Subcommittee to better evaluate (a) whether the present system of commercial network broadcasting which dominates viewing habits arbitrarily restricts program choice or is in any way primarily responsible for the high levels of violence on television, and (b) whether consideration should be given to altering the structure of the broadcast industry by legislation designed to increase competition and, perhaps, choice."

Needless to say, when that draft was leaked all hell broke loose. Members of the subcommittee told me that they had never before been subjected to such relentless lobbying and pressure. Major campaign contributors were also contacted. The report was delayed for months. The Subcommittee staffer who wrote the draft was forced out -- fired. The day before the final vote was to be taken, a new version drafted by broadcast lobbyists was substituted. It ignored the evidence of the hearings and gutted the report, shifting the burden from network structure to the families of America. When the network-dictated draft came to a vote, members of the parent committee who had never attended

hearings were mobilized, and the watered down version passed by one vote.

The movement to reduce violence and sexism on the airways has not yet recovered from the defeat, and both continue at a high level. The conventional definition of the problem insulates sex and violence from their full symbolic and social functions and narrows the issues to an easily refutable single-cause model. By focusing on the tip of the iceberg rather than its base, on the symptoms rather than the underlying social pathology, this framing of the issue invites its own refutation. It also adds to public paranoia and strengthens powerful repressive mechanisms expressed every day throughout our culture.

Commercialized violence and exploitive sex are but the most overt manifestations of a pattern of inequities and exploitations of the weaker and more vulnerable groups of our population. The pattern is endemic in the structure of our institutions and is not easily changed -- nor impermeable. Focusing on the most overt manifestations alone may simply channel energies into more repression and harrassment and distracts attention from the larger symbolic world in which men have most of the values and power, in which both young and old suffer from symbolic deprivation or annihilation; in which women and minorities have less than their share of values and dignity but more than their share of risk, ridicule, and victimization.

We need an effective mobilization of parents, educators, religious and political leaders, and other citizens for liberation, not just to combat symbolic violence and exploitive sex as such but the larger structure of inequity and injustice behind it. We need an environmental movement to address a pervasive discharge into the mainstream of the common environment most vital to our humanity -- the environment of symbols -- that constrains and hurts too many of us.

Censorship is not the issue as the market for television production is not free in any sense of the word. A handful of production companies create the bulk of the programs and sell them to broadcasters, not to viewers. The cheapest and least offensive programming is the most profitable.

The system operates on a lucrative but restrictive basis of advertising moneys. The law that makes these advertising expenditures a tax-deductable business expense is the foundation of the television industry. The cost of advertising is included in the price of the products we buy. Unlike other business costs, but like taxation (without representation, to be sure), the cost must be paid by all whether or not they use the service. According to a report compiled by Broadcasting magazine (August 10, 1981, pp. 50-52), the television levy per household in 1980 ranged from about $90 in Atlanta to $29 in Wilkes-Barre--Scranton, Pa. In my city of Philadelphia it was $59.39. That is what the average Philadelphia household paid for television, included in the price of products they bought, whether or not they watched. You pay when you wash, not when you watch....

The only way to reduce exploitive television content and, more importantly, the price we pay for its saturation of the life space of most Americans, is to allocate these and perhaps even addition resources to that end. In other words, it is to extend the legal and economic support for a broader view of the social and cultural mission of television. Such a move would not infringe on First Amendment rights. On the contrary, it would extend the First Amendment's prohibition of abridgement of the cultural marketplace to also cover corporate restrictions of control, purpose, and function.

Clearly, such institutional adjustments will take time and study, as well as determined effort. Those who would want to move television toward a more open system should know what they are up against.

Nevertheless, the effort is in the long-run interest of the industry as well as of our society. The rigid imperatives of television production will have to give way to a freer marketplace of ideas, problems, conflicts, and their resolutions. Freedom, time, and talent are needed to create a greater diversity of human scenarios and thus reduce exploitive violence and sex to legitimate and equitable dramatic functions. The resource base for television will have to be broadened to liberate the institution from total dependence on advertising monies, purposes, and ratings.

The Study Committee should recommend a mechanism that will finance a freer commercial system, one that can afford to present a fairer, more peaceful, and more democratic world of television. That is the only legitimate and effective way to reduce, if not eliminate, exploitive sex and violence. The mechanism should also help protect creative TV professionals from both governmental and corporate dictation. Only then will they be free to produce the diversified and entertaining fare they know how to create but cannot under existing constraints and controls.

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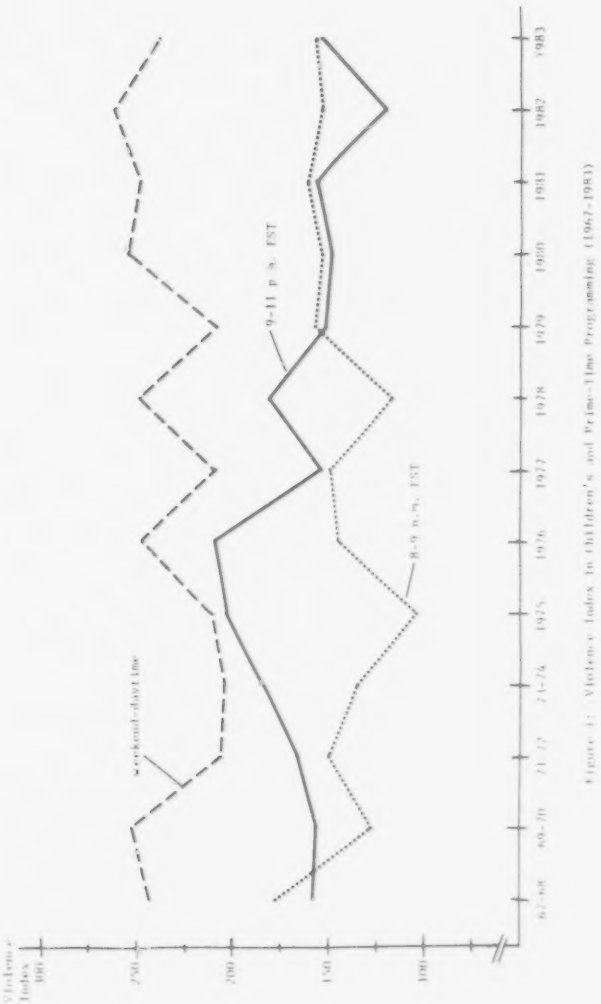

Figure 1: Violence Index in Children's and Prime-Time Programming (1967-1983)

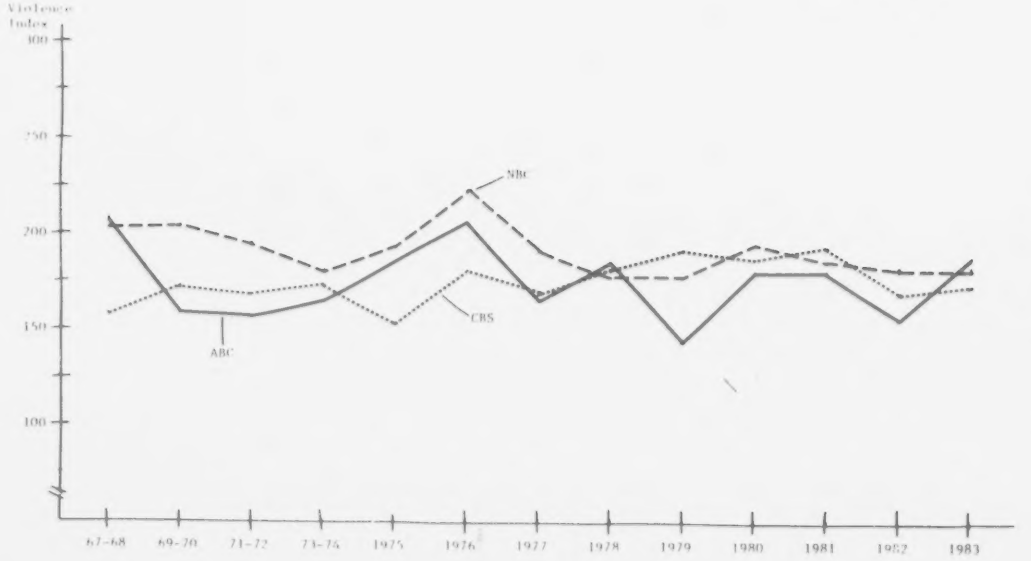

Figure 2: Violence Index by Network (1967-1983)

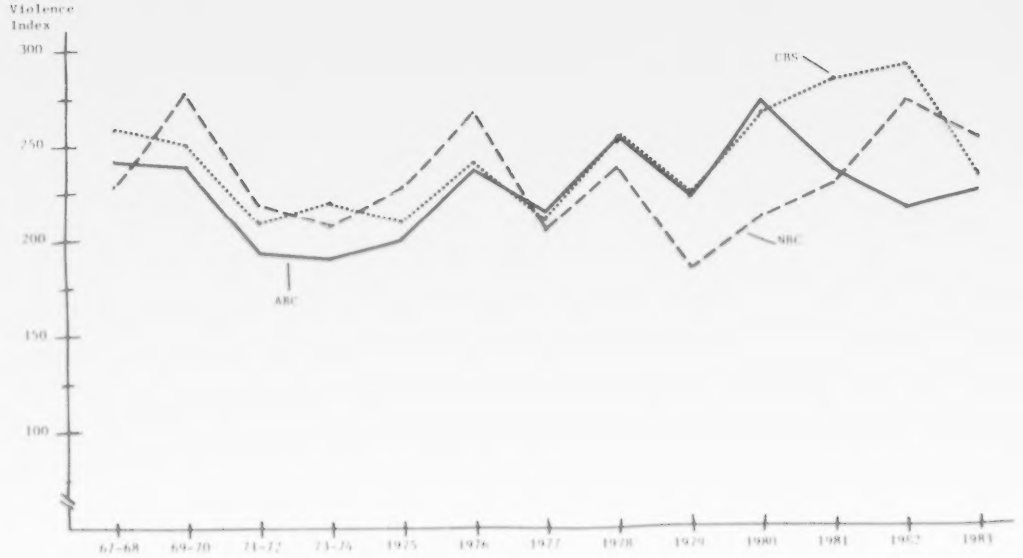

Figure 1: Violence Index in Weekend-Daytime Children's Programming by Network (1967-1983)

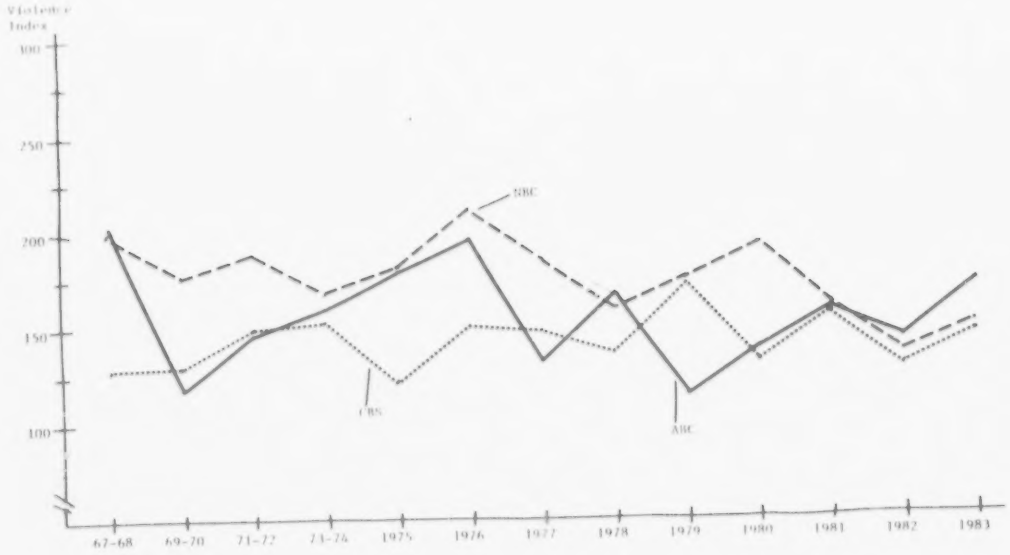

Figure 4: Violence Index in Prime-Time Programming by Network (1967-1983)

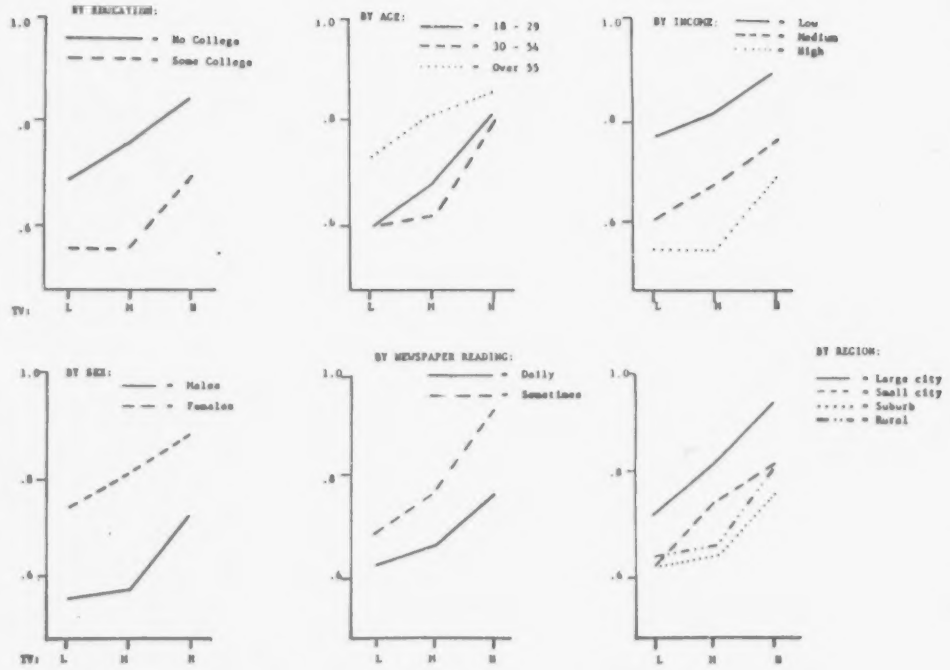

Figure 5

Relationship between Amount of Television Viewing and an Index of Images of Violence, within Major Demographic Subgroups

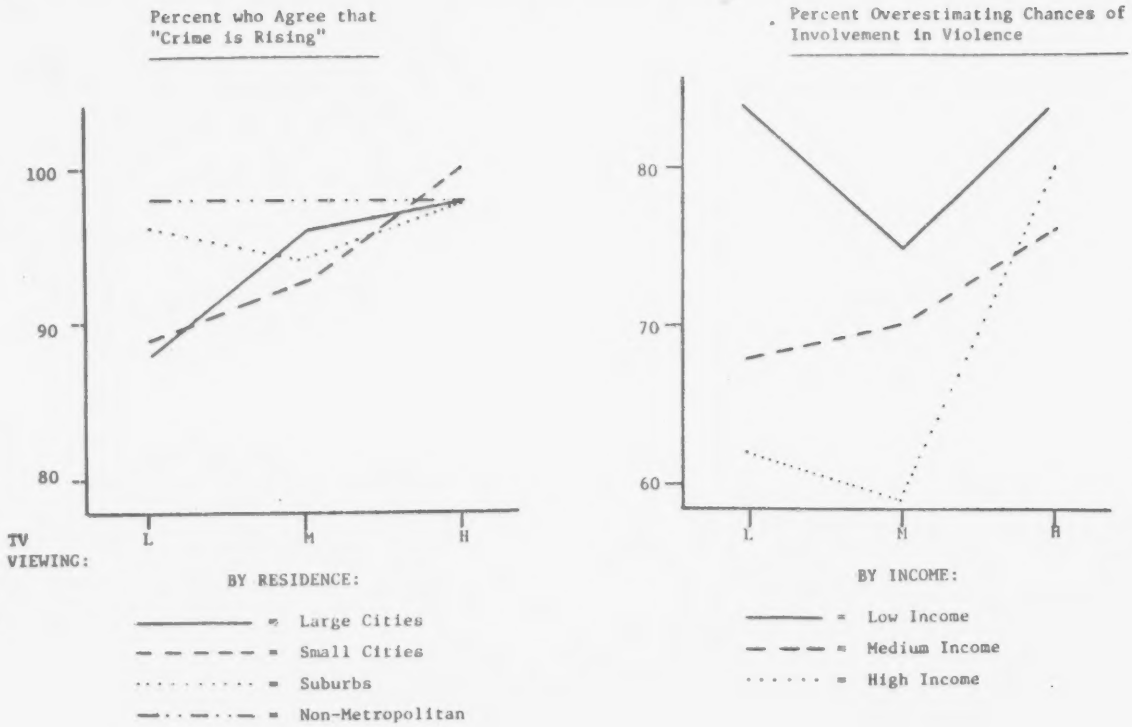

Figure 6

Examples of "Mainstreaming"

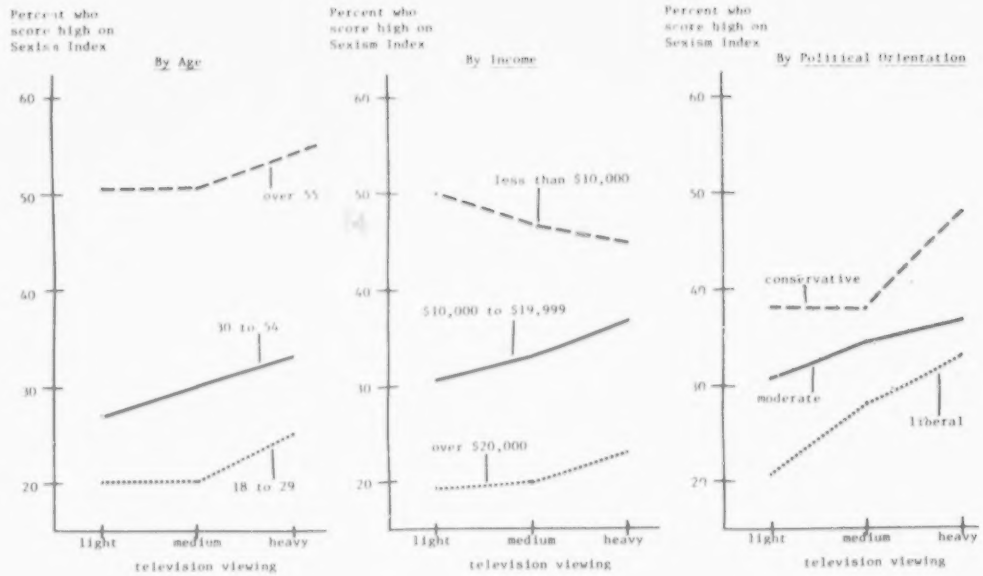

Figure 7: Television Viewing and Scores on Sexism Index by Age, Income and Political Orientation

Table 1: All Programs, All Networks

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	183	232	203	291	226	110	121	111	126	130	134	121	117	2105
Program hours analyzed	120.5	138.9	142.3	225.7	153.0	71.6	79.0	77.3	77.2	74.2	71.2	70.1	72.5	1374.1
Leading characters analyzed	455	573	552	987	664	290	355	298	381	394	402	367	337	6055
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	81.4	80.6	79.8	78.0	77.4	89.1	76.9	84.7	81.0	85.4	85.8	76.0	82.1	80.8
Program hours with violence	85.1	80.8	85.7	82.8	81.8	89.5	78.3	85.6	78.0	84.6	89.2	77.6	83.4	83.2
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	872	1128	1022	1862	1185	680	629	643	628	743	761	384	630	11,067
Rate per program (R/P)	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.4	5.2	6.2	5.2	5.8	5.0	5.2	5.7	4.8	5.4	5.3
Rate per hour (R/H)	7.2	8.1	7.2	6.9	7.7	9.5	8.0	8.3	8.1	10.0	10.7	8.3	8.7	8.1
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	10.8	6.8	4.4	3.4	2.8	3.6	3.7	3.9	3.3	4.2	46.8
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	52.7	49.7	42.4	40.1	43.8	60.7	48.2	42.3	49.3	48.7	50.0	51.5	44.5	46.9
Victims (are hurt)	60.4	58.1	50.2	53.0	54.1	64.8	52.4	57.4	52.5	56.3	54.2	55.3	56.7	55.3
Involved in violence (%V)	69.5	65.1	59.8	61.4	64.2	74.8	63.4	64.8	62.7	67.0	65.7	62.9	64.7	64.4
Killers	11.6	4.7	8.2	8.5	6.5	6.6	5.1	3.0	3.1	2.8	2.5	3.5	5.0	6.0
Killed	5.5	3.0	4.0	4.7	3.8	3.1	1.1	2.0	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.9	.9	3.0
Involved in killing (%K)	15.4	6.6	9.8	10.9	9.2	6.3	5.4	5.0	3.9	3.3	3.0	4.6	5.6	7.7
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.15	-1.17	-1.18	-1.32	-1.23	-1.07	-1.08	-1.36	-1.06	-1.16	-1.08	-1.07	-1.27	-1.18
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.12	+1.39	+2.05	+1.83	+1.72	+2.11	+4.50	+1.50	+2.40	+1.83	+2.00	+1.96	+5.67	+2.01
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	105.4	106.6	104.2	102.6	103.4	120.5	103.3	112.9	107.2	116.8	118.6	102.2	110.3	107.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	84.8	71.7	69.6	72.3	73.3	83.1	68.8	69.8	66.7	70.3	68.7	67.5	70.3	72.1
Violence Index: VI + PS + CS	190.3	178.3	173.8	174.9	176.8	203.6	172.1	182.7	173.9	187.1	187.3	169.7	180.6	179.7

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 2: Prime-Time Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	121	129	122	177	134	61	68	63	64	64	65	77	63	1204
Program hours analyzed	106.0	111.8	111.8	174.5	120.1	56.5	62.4	63.0	60.7	59.2	57.8	60.6	58.8	1103
Leading characters analyzed	340	350	386	609	431	172	210	191	218	229	216	247	195	3794
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	75.2	66.4	73.8	67.8	68.7	80.3	66.2	74.6	70.3	73.4	80.0	63.6	73.0	71.1
Program hours with violence	84.0	77.0	84.4	79.8	80.0	86.7	75.2	82.5	75.3	81.4	88.7	74.2	81.3	80.7
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	549	434	533	919	716	342	371	285	344	336	343	278	280	5730
Rate per program (R/P)	4.5	3.5	4.4	5.2	5.3	5.6	5.5	4.5	5.4	5.2	5.3	3.6	4.4	4.8
Rate per hour (R/H)	5.2	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.1	5.8	4.5	5.7	5.7	5.9	4.6	4.8	5.2
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	8.0	4.8	3.2	2.3	1.5	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.8	32.5
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	47.6	36.6	39.1	40.7	40.1	56.4	43.8	33.5	45.0	38.5	39.4	39.3	37.4	41.0
Victims (are hurt)	53.8	42.9	43.5	46.3	45.5	54.7	42.9	44.5	46.3	40.2	39.3	40.9	43.0	45.1
Involved in violence (%V)	64.4	49.4	53.9	53.7	55.0	67.4	53.8	52.9	53.7	50.7	50.0	48.2	53.3	54.2
Killers	14.1	6.9	11.4	13.3	10.0	9.9	8.6	4.7	5.5	4.4	4.6	4.9	8.7	9.1
Killed	3.6	4.0	3.2	7.2	5.3	4.7	1.9	3.1	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.8	1.5	4.3
Involved in killing (%K)	17.4	9.4	13.5	16.9	13.7	12.2	9.0	7.9	6.9	4.8	5.6	6.5	9.7	11.4
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.13	-1.17	-1.11	-1.14	-1.13	+1.03	+1.02	-1.33	-1.03	-1.05	1.00	-1.04	-1.15	-1.10
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.53	+1.71	+2.20	+1.84	+1.87	+2.13	+4.51	+1.50	+2.40	+2.00	+2.00	+1.71	+5.67	+2.12
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	94.6	81.1	92.0	88.7	91.3	103.6	88.8	92.7	92.4	95.2	102.4	80.0	91.4	91.1
Character V-Score CS = (%V) + (%K)	81.8	58.9	67.4	70.6	68.7	79.7	62.8	60.7	60.6	55.5	55.6	54.7	63.0	65.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + C	176.4	140.0	159.4	159.3	159.9	183.3	151.6	153.4	153.0	150.7	158.0	134.7	154.4	156.7

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 3 Programs Aired 8-9 P M EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	74	73	55	86	61	25	32	27	31	29	26	35	25	379
Program hours analyzed	57.0	53.3	48.5	79.0	40.3	20.0	26.0	20.5	27.7	24.7	18.0	21.4	19.0	455.3
Leading characters analyzed	205	206	176	292	184	69	87	79	96	105	76	96	69	1740
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	77.0	60.3	74.5	60.5	52.5	72.0	65.6	59.3	71.0	72.4	80.8	71.4	72.0	67.0
Program hours with violence	85.1	70.9	85.6	72.2	60.3	77.5	75.0	63.4	74.7	79.7	86.1	80.5	81.6	75.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	363	208	232	340	164	94	136	82	174	157	99	115	114	2298
Rate per program (R/P)	4.9	2.8	4.2	4.0	2.7	3.8	4.8	3.0	5.6	5.4	3.8	3.3	4.6	3.9
Rate per hour (R/H)	6.4	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1	4.7	6.0	4.0	6.3	6.4	5.5	5.4	6.0	5.1
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	2.6	1.1	0.7	1.1	0.3	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.9	1.2	10.3
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	48.8	35.0	37.5	30.8	21.2	42.0	46.0	22.8	41.7	40.0	42.1	45.8	36.2	36.6
Victims (are hurt)	57.6	40.3	39.8	37.0	27.2	43.5	47.1	34.2	43.7	40.0	49.7	50.0	47.8	41.9
Involved in violence (%V)	66.3	46.1	50.0	44.2	37.0	59.1	57.5	39.2	53.1	52.4	57.9	58.3	56.5	50.6
Killers	16.6	5.3	6.2	9.2	1.1	1.4	4.6	3.8	5.2	4.8	0.0	3.1	7.2	6.4
Killed	6.3	2.4	2.8	5.1	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	5.2	2.9	2.6	4.2	0.0	3.0
Involved in killing (%K)	20.9	7.3	7.4	12.3	1.1	1.4	4.6	3.8	8.3	4.8	2.6	6.3	7.2	8.2
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.18	-1.15	-1.06	-1.20	-1.28	-1.03	-1.02	-1.50	-1.05	1.00	-1.16	-1.09	-1.32	-1.14
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.62	+2.20	+2.20	+1.80	+0.00	+0.00	+4.00	+0.00	1.00	+1.67	-0.00	-1.33	+0.00	+2.09
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	99.6	73.8	92.5	77.0	66.0	88.9	87.2	73.3	94.8	96.0	99.4	88.8	93.2	85.0
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	86.8	53.4	57.4	56.5	38.0	56.5	62.1	43.0	61.5	57.2	60.5	64.6	63.7	58.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	186.4	127.2	149.9	133.5	104.0	145.4	149.3	116.4	156.2	153.2	159.9	153.4	156.9	143.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 4 Programs Aired 9-11 P M EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	47	52	67	91	73	36	36	36	33	35	39	42	38	625
Program hours analyzed	49.0	58.5	63.3	95.5	79.8	36.5	36.4	42.5	33.0	34.5	39.7	39.2	39.7	647.7
Leading characters analyzed	135	144	210	317	247	103	123	112	122	124	140	191	126	2034
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	72.3	75.0	73.1	74.7	82.2	86.1	66.7	86.1	69.7	74.3	79.5	57.1	73.7	74.9
Program hours with violence	82.7	82.5	83.5	86.1	90.0	91.8	75.3	91.8	75.8	82.6	89.9	70.7	81.1	84.1
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	186	226	301	379	592	248	215	203	170	179	244	163	166	3432
Rate per program (R/P)	4.0	4.3	4.5	6.4	7.6	6.9	5.9	5.6	5.2	5.1	6.2	3.9	4.4	5.5
Rate per hour (R/H)	3.8	3.9	4.8	6.1	6.9	6.8	5.9	4.8	5.2	5.2	6.1	4.1	4.2	5.3
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	5.4	3.7	2.5	1.2	1.2	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.4	1.6	22.2
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	45.9	38.9	40.5	49.8	54.3	66.0	42.3	41.1	47.5	37.1	37.9	35.1	38.1	44.7
Victims (are hurt)	48.1	46.5	46.7	54.9	59.1	62.1	39.8	51.8	48.4	40.3	34.3	35.1	40.5	47.8
Involved in violence (%V)	61.5	54.2	57.1	62.5	68.4	75.7	51.2	62.5	54.1	49.2	45.7	41.7	51.6	57.4
Killers	10.4	9.0	15.7	17.0	16.6	15.5	11.4	5.4	5.7	4.0	7.1	6.0	9.5	11.4
Killed	4.4	6.2	7.1	9.1	9.3	7.8	2.4	5.4	0.0	1.6	2.1	2.0	2.4	5.4
Involved in killing (%K)	12.6	12.5	18.6	21.1	23.1	19.4	12.2	10.7	5.7	4.8	7.1	6.6	11.1	14.2
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.05	-1.20	-1.15	-1.10	-1.09	+1.06	+1.06	-1.26	-1.02	-1.09	+1.10	1.00	-1.06	-1.07
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.33	+1.44	+2.20	+1.86	+1.78	+2.00	+4.67	1.00	+0.00	+2.50	+3.33	+3.00	+4.00	+2.13
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	87.8	91.4	91.6	99.6	111.2	113.5	90.3	106.9	90.3	94.9	104.1	73.1	90.9	96.5
Character V-Score CS = (%V) + (%K)	74.1	66.7	75.7	83.6	91.5	90.1	63.4	73.2	59.8	54.0	52.8	48.3	62.7	71.6
Violence Index VI = PS + CS	161.9	158.1	167.4	183.2	202.7	208.6	153.7	180.2	150.1	148.9	156.9	121.4	153.6	168.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample

Table 9 Weekend-Daytime (Children's) Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	62	107	81	114	92	49	53	48	62	66	69	44	54	901
Program hours analyzed	14.5	27.2	30.5	31.2	32.9	15.1	16.5	14.3	16.5	15.1	13.0	10.1	13.7	271.2
Leading characters analyzed	115	223	166	378	233	118	143	107	163	165	186	120	142	2261
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	93.5	97.2	88.9	93.9	90.2	100.0	90.6	97.9	91.9	97.0	91.3	97.7	92.6	93.8
Program hours with violence	93.1	96.6	90.4	93.2	88.4	100.0	89.9	98.8	87.9	97.2	91.4	98.3	92.7	93.1
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	323	694	489	643	469	338	258	358	284	407	418	306	350	5337
Rate per program (R/P)	5.2	6.5	6.0	5.6	5.1	6.9	4.8	7.5	4.6	6.2	6.1	6.9	6.5	5.9
Rate per hour (R/H)	22.3	25.5	16.0	12.6	14.2	22.4	15.6	25.0	17.2	26.9	30.9	30.3	25.5	19.6
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	2.8	1.9	1.2	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.4	0.9	1.4	14.3
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	67.8	70.4	50.0	39.2	50.6	66.9	54.5	57.9	55.2	63.0	62.4	76.7	54.2	56.7
Victims (are hurt)	80.0	82.1	65.7	63.8	70.0	79.7	66.2	80.4	60.7	78.8	71.5	85.0	75.4	72.3
Involved in violence (%V)	84.3	89.7	73.5	73.8	81.1	85.6	77.2	86.0	74.8	89.7	83.9	93.3	80.3	81.6
Killers	4.3	1.3	0.6	0.8	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.7
Killed	5.2	1.3	1.2	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Involved in killing (%K)	9.6	2.2	1.2	1.3	0.9	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.8	0.0	1.4
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.18	-1.17	-1.31	-1.63	-1.38	-1.19	-1.21	-1.39	-1.10	-1.25	-1.15	-1.11	-1.39	-1.27
Killer : Killed Ratio	-1.20	1.00	-2.00	+1.50	-0.00	+2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	+0.00	0.00	-1.06
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	148.3	161.3	133.0	130.3	128.9	158.7	131.4	162.8	135.4	163.2	145.3	172.1	156.6	144.8
Character V-Score CS = (%V) + (%K)	93.9	91.9	74.7	75.1	82.0	88.1	77.2	86.0	74.8	90.9	83.9	94.1	80.3	83.0
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	242.4	253.2	207.7	205.4	210.9	246.8	208.6	248.8	210.3	254.1	249.2	266.2	236.9	227.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 6 Cartoons

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	57	103	70	96	77	34	45	45	63	68	69	49	53	829
Program hours analyzed	13.9	25.3	24.5	40.7	22.8	7.7	13.1	13.1	17.3	16.5	13.5	10.4	13.2	232.2
Leading characters analyzed	109	209	139	320	182	77	125	100	167	174	186	128	137	2053
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	94.7	97.1	92.9	93.8	93.5	100.0	93.3	97.8	98.4	97.1	91.3	95.9	92.5	95.1
Program hours with violence	93.4	96.4	96.7	92.6	91.9	100.0	92.4	98.7	98.6	97.4	91.3	97.6	92.4	94.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	313	666	447	592	425	263	263	344	322	456	418	313	345	5167
Rate per program (R/P)	5.5	6.5	6.4	6.2	5.5	7.7	5.8	7.6	5.1	6.7	6.1	6.4	6.5	6.2
Rate per hour (R/H)	22.5	26.3	18.2	14.6	18.7	34.0	20.1	26.2	18.6	27.6	30.9	30.0	26.1	22.2
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	2.4	1.6	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.3	13.4
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	69.7	70.8	54.7	39.7	52.7	77.9	61.6	58.0	58.7	63.8	62.4	75.0	54.0	59.1
Victims (are hurt)	80.7	80.9	71.2	67.2	75.8	83.1	73.6	81.0	64.1	78.2	71.5	83.6	75.9	74.7
Involved in violence (%V)	85.3	89.0	80.6	74.4	85.2	89.6	82.4	86.0	79.6	89.1	83.9	92.2	80.3	83.5
Killers	4.6	1.4	0.7	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.7
Killed	5.5	1.4	1.4	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.8
Involved in killing (%A)	10.1	2.4	1.4	1.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.4
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.16	-1.14	-1.30	-1.69	-1.44	-1.07	-1.19	-1.40	-1.09	-1.22	-1.15	-1.11	-1.60	-1.26
Killer : Killed Ratio	-1.20	1.00	-2.00	+1.50	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	-1.21
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	130.7	162.6	142.1	135.2	141.9	183.5	145.1	165.5	145.9	165.7	165.3	168.7	157.7	151.9
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%A)	95.4	91.4	82.0	75.9	86.3	89.6	82.4	86.0	79.6	90.2	83.9	93.8	80.3	84.9
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	246.1	254.0	224.1	211.1	228.1	273.1	227.5	251.5	225.5	255.9	249.2	262.5	238.0	236.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 7 All ABC Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	37	80	64	100	77	32	37	35	34	43	41	32	29	661
Program hours analyzed	39 5	43 7	46 4	77 3	50 5	21 2	23 4	24 5	23 5	24 2	22 1	21 5	20 6	438 4
Leading characters analyzed	149	203	192	326	229	97	114	92	113	147	123	102	98	1981
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (VP)	89 5	75 0	73 4	76 0	79 2	93 8	78 4	88 6	70 6	81 4	85 4	71 9	89 7	79 9
Program hours with violence	92 4	69 1	84 0	80 9	82 5	92 9	79 7	89 8	74 5	79 4	89 8	78 3	92 7	82 7
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	306	341	318	521	426	189	176	199	151	247	193	132	181	3380
Rate per program (R/P)	5 4	4 3	5 0	5 2	5 5	5 9	4 8	5 7	4 4	5 7	4 7	4 1	6 2	5 1
Rate per hour (R/H)	7 7	7 8	6 9	6 7	8 4	8 9	7 5	8 1	6 4	10 2	8 7	6 1	8 7	7 7
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	3 6	2 3	1 4	1 1	1 1	1 1	0 9	1 0	1 1	1 6	15 2
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	39 7	43 8	34 4	40 8	47 1	61 9	42 1	43 5	44 2	43 5	49 6	46 1	40 8	43 1
Victims (are hurt)	65 8	50 2	42 7	54 0	59 1	64 9	50 0	59 8	46 0	53 7	52 8	52 9	50 0	53 8
Involved in violence (XV)	75 8	58 1	51 0	58 6	71 1	76 3	60 5	66 3	52 2	64 6	65 8	58 8	59 2	62 4
Killers	13 4	3 4	8 9	8 9	4 4	4 1	0 0	3 3	0 9	1 4	1 6	4 9	8 2	3 4
Killed	5 4	2 0	5 7	4 3	3 6	3 1	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 7	0 8	2 9	2 0	2 8
Involved in killing (XK)	18 1	4 9	10 9	11 0	7 6	7 2	0 0	3 3	0 9	2 0	2 4	5 9	9 2	7 2
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1 10	-1 15	-1 24	-1 32	-1 25	-1 05	-1 19	-1 38	-1 04	-1 23	-1 06	-1 15	-1 22	-1 20
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2 50	+1 75	+1 55	+2 07	+1 25	+1 33	0 00	+0 00	+0 00	+2 00	+2 00	+1 67	+4 00	+1 96
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (XP) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	115 7	99 1	97 1	99 9	107 2	123 4	103 0	116 2	92 3	113 2	112 2	92 3	119 5	105 3
Character V-Score: CS = (XV) + (XK)	94 0	63 1	62 0	69 6	78 7	83 5	60 5	69 6	53 1	66 6	68 2	64 7	68 4	69 6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	209 7	162 2	159 1	169 5	185 8	206 9	163 5	185 8	145 4	179 8	180 4	157 0	187 9	175 1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample

Table 8: ABC Prime-Time Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	40	42	43	61	41	19	21	24	23	24	24	22	18	402
Program hours analyzed	39.0	35.0	36.8	59.5	40.0	17.0	18.0	20.5	19.0	19.9	18.2	19.2	16.7	354.9
Leading characters analyzed	115	123	148	207	136	60	66	65	81	96	75	79	64	1319
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	85.0	54.8	65.1	67.2	73.2	89.5	66.7	83.3	60.9	66.7	83.3	63.6	83.3	71.1
Program hours with violence	91.4	62.1	82.5	78.6	82.5	91.2	75.0	87.8	71.1	74.9	89.0	76.6	91.0	80.4
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	210	128	176	317	289	110	90	94	80	115	101	84	108	1902
Rate per program (R/P)	5.3	3.0	4.1	5.2	7.0	5.8	4.3	3.9	3.5	4.8	4.2	3.8	6.0	4.7
Rate per hour (R/H)	5.0	3.7	4.8	5.3	7.5	6.5	5.0	4.6	4.2	5.8	5.5	4.4	6.4	5.3
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	2.7	1.9	1.1	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.3	10.9
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	60.0	32.5	33.8	43.5	49.3	63.3	33.3	32.3	30.9	35.4	37.3	43.0	35.9	41.1
Victims (are hurt)	62.6	37.4	39.9	51.2	54.4	61.7	34.8	50.8	33.3	35.4	37.3	46.8	40.6	45.8
Involved in violence (%V)	73.9	43.1	49.3	55.6	66.2	75.0	47.0	60.0	38.3	46.9	50.7	54.4	51.6	54.8
Killers	16.5	5.7	10.8	13.0	7.4	3.3	0.0	4.6	1.2	2.1	2.7	6.3	12.5	7.8
Killed	6.1	3.3	6.8	6.3	5.1	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.3	3.8	3.1	3.8
Involved in killing (%K)	21.7	8.1	13.5	15.9	11.8	6.7	0.0	4.6	1.2	3.1	4.0	7.6	14.1	10.1
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.04	-1.15	-1.18	-1.18	-1.10	+1.03	-1.04	-1.57	-1.08	1.00	1.00	-1.09	-1.13	-1.11
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.71	+1.75	+1.60	+2.08	+1.43	1.00	0.00	+0.00	+0.00	+2.00	+2.00	+1.67	+4.00	+2.04
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	107.5	68.2	82.9	88.3	101.7	114.0	85.3	100.3	76.2	87.9	102.7	80.8	108.1	91.1
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	95.7	51.2	62.8	71.5	77.9	81.7	47.0	64.6	39.5	50.0	54.7	62.0	65.7	64.9
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	203.2	119.4	145.7	159.8	179.7	195.7	132.3	165.0	115.8	137.9	157.4	142.0	173.8	156.0

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 9: ABC Weekend-Daytime (Children's) Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	17	38	21	39	36	13	16	11	11	19	17	10	11	259
Program hours analyzed	4.5	8.7	9.7	17.8	10.5	4.2	5.4	4.0	4.5	4.3	3.8	2.2	3.9	83.5
Leading characters analyzed	34	80	44	119	89	37	48	27	32	51	48	23	34	666
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	100.0	97.4	90.5	89.7	86.1	100.0	93.8	100.0	90.9	100.0	88.2	90.0	100.0	93.4
Program hours with violence	100.0	97.1	89.7	88.8	82.5	100.0	95.3	100.0	88.9	100.0	93.6	92.6	100.0	92.5
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	96	213	142	204	137	79	86	105	71	132	92	48	73	1478
Rate per program (R/P)	5.6	5.6	6.8	5.2	3.8	6.1	5.4	9.5	6.5	6.9	5.4	4.8	6.6	5.7
Rate per hour (R/H)	21.3	24.6	14.7	11.4	13.0	19.0	16.0	26.3	15.8	30.5	24.0	21.3	18.8	17.7
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	4.3
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	38.8	61.2	36.4	36.1	43.8	59.5	54.2	70.4	78.1	58.8	68.8	56.5	30.0	52.9
Victims (are hurt)	76.5	70.0	52.3	58.8	66.3	70.3	70.8	81.5	78.1	88.2	77.1	73.9	67.6	69.5
Involved in violence (%V)	82.4	81.2	56.8	63.9	78.7	78.4	79.2	81.5	87.5	98.0	89.6	73.9	78.5	77.3
Killers	2.9	0.0	2.3	1.7	0.0	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Killed	2.9	0.0	2.3	0.8	1.1	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.(	0.8
Involved in killing (%K)	5.9	0.0	2.3	2.5	1.1	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	1.5
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.30	-1.14	-1.44	-1.63	-1.51	-1.18	-1.31	-1.16	1.00	-1.50	-1.12	-1.31	-1.35	-1.31
Killer : Killed Ratio	1.00	0.00	1.00	+2.00	-0.00	+2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+1.20
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	134.0	157.7	133.4	123.1	119.8	150.1	136.6	171.6	135.4	174.8	147.0	142.2	150.8	140.2
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	88.2	81.2	59.1	66.4	79.8	86.5	79.2	81.5	87.5	98.0	89.6	73.9	73.5	79.0
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	242.2	239.0	192.5	189.5	199.6	236.6	215.8	253.1	222.9	272.8	236.6	216.1	224.3	219.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 10: All CBS Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	67	65	78	95	80	41	52	48	56	51	50	49	48	800
Program hours analyzed	39.5	48.0	49.0	73.1	50.2	24.0	32.2	26.8	28.5	26.5	25.7	24.9	27.2	475.6
Leading characters analyzed	152	198	189	336	232	101	143	122	152	149	145	138	124	2181
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	71.6	77.6	74.4	74.7	67.5	82.9	71.2	85.4	87.5	84.3	86.0	75.5	77.1	77.2
Program hours with violence	75.3	79.9	79.7	80.9	72.1	83.3	73.8	83.2	81.6	80.8	88.3	73.2	73.4	78.6
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	248	384	376	539	320	199	268	263	284	282	339	228	228	3958
Rate per program (R/P)	3.7	4.5	4.8	5.7	4.0	4.9	5.1	5.5	5.1	5.5	6.8	4.6	4.7	4.9
Rate per hour (R/H)	6.3	8.0	7.7	7.4	6.4	8.3	8.3	9.8	9.9	10.6	13.2	9.2	8.4	8.3
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	3.5	1.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.3		14.6
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	40.1	51.0	42.9	39.0	39.2	50.5	49.6	41.8	53.9	52.3	57.9	52.2	44.3	46.3
Victims (are hurt)	49.3	56.6	51.9	50.9	47.8	56.4	49.6	56.6	57.9	58.4	54.5	52.2	55.6	53.1
Involved in violence (%V)	56.6	63.6	60.3	60.1	55.6	67.3	60.8	63.9	69.1	67.8	66.9	61.6	65.3	62.3
Killers	7.9	4.0	9.5	8.6	6.0	5.0	7.7	2.5	3.3	3.4	0.7	0.7	4.8	5.4
Killed	5.3	3.0	2.6	6.0	4.3	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7	2.0	0.7	1.4	0.8	2.7
Involved in killing (%K)	11.2	6.6	10.1	12.2	9.1	5.0	7.7	3.3	3.3	3.4	0.7	2.2	5.6	7.0
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.23	-1.11	-1.21	-1.31	-1.22	-1.12	1.00	-1.35	-1.07	-1.11	+1.06	1.00	-1.25	-1.19
Killer : Killed Ratio	+1.50	+1.33	+3.60	+1.45	+1.40	+5.00	+11.00	+3.00	+5.00	+1.67	+1.00	-2.00	+6.00	+1.97
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	91.6	102.7	99.4	100.8	88.3	109.2	98.0	116.0	117.5	116.3	126.0	103.1	103.3	103.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	67.8	70.2	70.4	72.3	64.7	72.3	68.5	67.2	72.4	71.2	67.6	63.8	70.9	69.3
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	159.4	172.9	169.7	173.1	152.9	181.5	166.5	183.3	189.9	187.7	193.6	166.9	174.2	172.9

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 11: CBS Prime-Time Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	44	46	42	63	48	24	31	22	24	22	24	33	22	445
Program hours analyzed	34.5	36.5	37.5	57.0	37.8	18.0	25.9	20.3	22.0	20.2	21.5	21.9	22.0	375.0
Leading characters analyzed	113	122	123	219	153	61	91	65	73	78	80	95	63	1336
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	59.1	63.0	66.7	63.5	50.0	70.8	61.3	68.2	79.2	68.2	79.2	63.6	63.6	64.3
Program hours with violence	72.5	75.3	77.3	76.3	65.6	77.8	71.0	77.8	79.5	75.3	88.4	69.5	70.4	74.7
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	127	124	176	323	168	84	173	89	129	82	148	107	68	1798
Rate per program (R/P)	2.9	2.7	4.2	5.1	3.5	3.5	5.6	4.0	5.4	3.7	6.2	3.2	3.1	4.0
Rate per hour (R/H)	3.7	3.4	4.7	5.7	4.5	4.7	6.7	4.4	5.9	4.0	6.9	4.9	3.1	4.8
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	2.6	1.1	0.4	0.8	0.5	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.5	9.3
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	27.4	33.6	37.4	35.6	30.7	42.6	41.8	33.8	50.7	34.6	40.0	36.8	34.9	36.1
Victims (are hurt)	36.3	38.5	42.3	42.9	36.6	37.7	39.6	36.9	53.4	39.9	38.7	36.8	42.9	39.9
Involved in violence (%V)	45.1	45.1	49.6	48.9	42.5	54.1	49.4	44.6	64.4	44.9	50.0	45.3	57.1	48.4
Killers	8.8	5.7	14.6	12.8	9.2	8.2	12.1	4.6	6.8	5.1	1.2	1.0	9.5	8.5
Killed	4.4	4.1	4.1	9.1	5.9	1.6	1.1	1.5	1.4	3.8	1.2	2.1	1.6	4.1
Involved in killing (%K)	10.6	9.0	15.4	18.3	13.1	8.2	12.1	6.2	6.8	5.1	1.2	3.2	11.1	10.6
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.32	-1.15	-1.13	-1.21	-1.19	+1.13	+1.05	-1.09	-1.05	-1.04	+1.03	1.00	-1.23	-1.11
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.00	+1.40	+3.60	+1.40	+1.56	+5.00	+11.00	+3.00	+5.00	+1.33	1.00	-2.00	+6.00	+2.05
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	72.2	75.2	84.4	85.1	65.9	87.2	85.9	85.1	101.6	83.6	105.4	79.8	76.0	81.9
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	55.8	54.1	65.0	67.1	55.6	62.3	61.5	50.8	71.2	50.0	51.2	48.5	68.2	59.0
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	128.0	129.3	149.5	152.2	121.5	149.5	147.4	135.8	172.9	133.6	156.6	128.3	144.2	140.9

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 12: CBS Weekend-Daytime (Children's) Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	23	39	36	32	32	17	21	26	32	29	26	16	26	355
Program hours analyzed	5.0	11.5	11.5	16.1	12.4	6.0	6.3	6.5	6.5	6.2	4.2	3.0	5.2	100.6
Leading characters analyzed	39	76	66	117	79	40	52	57	79	71	65	43	61	845
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	95.7	94.9	83.3	96.9	93.8	100.0	85.7	100.0	93.8	96.6	92.3	100.0	88.5	93.5
Program hours with violence	95.0	94.2	87.5	96.9	92.0	100.0	85.5	100.0	88.5	98.6	88.2	100.0	85.7	93.2
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	121	260	200	216	152	115	95	174	155	200	191	121	160	2160
Rate per program (R/P)	5.3	6.7	5.6	6.8	4.8	6.8	4.5	6.7	4.8	6.9	7.3	7.6	6.1	6.1
Rate per hour (R/H)	24.2	22.6	17.4	13.4	12.2	19.2	15.2	26.8	23.7	32.0	44.9	40.3	30.5	21.5
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.5	5.3
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	76.9	78.9	53.0	45.3	55.7	62.5	63.5	50.9	57.0	71.8	80.0	86.0	34.1	62.4
Victims (are hurt)	87.2	85.5	69.7	65.8	69.6	85.0	67.3	78.9	62.0	83.1	73.8	86.0	68.9	74.1
Involved in violence (%V)	89.7	93.4	80.3	81.2	81.0	87.5	80.8	86.0	73.4	93.0	87.7	97.7	73.8	84.3
Killers	5.1	1.3	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Killed	7.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Involved in killing (%K)	12.8	2.6	0.0	0.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.13	-1.08	-1.31	-1.45	-1.25	-1.36	-1.06	-1.55	-1.09	-1.16	+1.08	1.00	-1.27	-1.19
Killer : Killed Ratio	-1.50	1.00	0.00	+0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+1.20
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	154.6	153.4	129.3	137.2	127.7	151.9	130.7	166.9	150.8	174.4	196.7	195.8	161.7	148.7
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	102.6	96.1	80.3	82.1	82.3	87.5	80.8	86.0	73.4	94.4	87.7	97.7	73.8	85.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	257.1	249.5	209.6	219.2	210.0	239.4	211.5	252.9	224.2	268.8	284.4	293.5	235.5	234.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 13: All NBC Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	59	67	61	96	69	37	32	28	36	36	43	40	40	644
Program hours analyzed	41.5	47.3	46.9	75.2	52.3	26.4	23.4	26.1	25.2	23.5	23.4	24.3	24.6	460.1
Leading characters analyzed	154	172	171	325	207	92	98	84	116	98	134	127	115	1893
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	84.7	91.0	93.4	83.3	87.0	91.9	84.4	78.6	80.6	91.7	86.0	80.0	82.5	86.2
Program hours with violence	87.3	92.6	93.6	86.7	90.4	92.4	82.9	84.0	77.2	94.3	89.6	81.6	86.8	88.2
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	318	403	328	502	439	292	185	181	193	214	229	224	221	3729
Rate per program (R/P)	5.4	6.0	5.4	5.2	6.4	7.9	5.8	6.5	5.4	5.9	5.3	5.6	5.5	5.8
Rate per hour (R/H)	7.7	8.5	7.0	6.7	8.4	11.1	7.9	6.9	7.7	9.1	9.8	9.2	8.9	8.1
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	3.8	2.6	2.1	1.2	0.7	1.0	1.5	1.5	0.9	1.5	16.9
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	38.4	35.2	30.9	40.6	45.4	70.7	53.1	41.7	48.3	31.0	41.8	35.1	47.8	49.5
Victims (are hurt)	66.2	69.2	56.7	54.2	55.6	73.9	59.2	56.0	51.7	57.1	59.2	60.6	63.5	59.3
Involved in violence (%V)	76.0	75.0	69.0	69.5	66.2	81.5	70.4	64.3	64.7	69.4	64.2	67.7	68.7	68.9
Killers	13.6	7.0	5.8	8.0	9.2	10.9	7.1	3.6	5.2	4.1	5.2	5.5	2.6	7.1
Killed	5.8	4.1	3.5	3.7	3.4	5.4	3.1	6.0	3.4	2.0	2.2	1.6	0.0	3.4
Involved in killing (%K)	16.9	8.7	8.2	9.5	11.1	13.0	8.2	9.5	7.8	5.1	5.9	6.3	2.6	8.9
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.13	-1.25	-1.11	-1.33	-1.22	-1.05	-1.11	-1.34	-1.07	-1.09	-1.32	-1.10	-1.33	-1.19
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.33	+1.71	+1.67	+2.17	+2.71	+2.00	+2.33	-1.67	+1.50	+2.00	+2.33	+3.50	+0.00	+2.08
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	110.9	120.1	119.2	107.1	116.5	129.8	111.8	105.4	106.6	121.7	116.2	109.6	111.3	114.0
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	92.9	83.7	77.2	75.1	77.3	94.6	78.6	73.8	72.4	74.5	70.1	74.0	71.3	77.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	203.7	203.9	195.4	182.2	193.8	224.4	190.4	179.2	179.0	196.2	186.3	183.6	182.6	191.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 14. NBC Prime-Time Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1975*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	37	37	37	53	45	18	16	17	17	18	17	22	23	397
Program hours analyzed	36.5	40.3	37.5	58.0	42.3	21.5	18.5	22.3	19.7	19.0	18.0	19.5	20.0	373.0
Leading characters analyzed	112	105	115	183	142	51	53	61	64	55	61	73	68	1143
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	83.8	83.8	91.9	73.6	84.4	83.3	75.0	70.6	70.6	88.9	76.5	63.6	73.9	79.6
Program hours with violence	87.7	91.3	93.3	84.5	90.6	90.7	81.1	82.0	74.6	94.7	88.9	76.9	85.0	86.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	212	182	181	279	239	148	108	102	135	139	94	87	104	2030
Rate per program (R/P)	5.7	4.9	4.9	5.3	5.8	8.2	6.7	6.0	7.9	7.7	5.5	3.9	4.5	5.7
Rate per hour (R/H)	5.8	4.5	4.8	4.8	6.1	6.9	5.8	4.6	6.9	7.3	5.2	4.5	5.2	5.4
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	2.7	1.8	1.6	0.9	0.4	0.8	1.3	1.2	0.5	1.0	12.2
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	55.4	44.8	47.8	43.7	41.5	64.7	60.4	34.4	56.3	49.1	40.9	38.4	41.2	46.6
Victims (are hurt)	62.5	54.3	49.6	44.8	46.5	66.7	58.4	45.9	54.7	54.5	42.6	39.7	45.6	50.4
Involved in violence (%V)	74.1	61.9	64.3	57.4	57.7	74.5	69.8	54.1	60.9	65.4	49.2	45.2	51.5	60.4
Killers	17.0	9.5	8.7	14.2	13.4	19.6	13.2	4.9	9.4	7.3	11.5	8.2	4.4	11.4
Killed	6.2	4.8	4.3	6.0	4.9	9.8	5.7	8.2	6.3	1.8	4.9	2.7	0.0	5.1
Involved in killing (%K)	19.6	11.4	11.3	16.4	16.2	23.5	15.1	13.1	14.1	7.3	13.1	9.6	4.4	13.9
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.13	-1.21	-1.04	-1.02	-1.12	-1.03	+1.03	-1.33	+1.03	-1.07	-1.04	-1.04	-1.11	-1.08
Killer : Killed Ratio	+2.71	+2.00	+2.00	+2.36	+2.71	+2.00	+2.33	-1.67	+1.50	+4.00	+2.33	+3.00	+0.00	+2.24
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	106.9	102.7	111.3	93.7	108.2	113.5	100.0	91.8	100.2	118.9	97.9	80.4	93.3	101.8
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	93.7	73.3	75.7	73.8	73.9	98.0	84.9	67.2	75.0	72.7	62.3	54.8	55.9	74.3
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	200.6	176.0	187.0	167.5	182.1	211.6	184.9	159.0	175.2	191.6	160.2	135.2	149.2	176.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

Table 15 NBC Weekend-Daytime (Children's) Programs

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-73*	1973*	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs analyzed	22	30	24	43	24	19	16	11	19	18	26	18	17	287
Program hours analyzed	5.0	7.0	9.4	17.2	10.0	4.9	4.9	3.8	5.5	4.5	5.4	4.8	4.6	87.1
Leading characters analyzed	42	67	56	142	69	41	45	23	52	43	73	54	47	750
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Programs with violence (%P)	86.4	100.0	95.8	95.3	91.7	100.0	93.8	90.9	89.5	94.4	92.3	100.0	94.1	94.4
Program hours with violence	85.0	100.0	94.7	94.2	90.0	100.0	89.8	95.7	86.4	92.6	92.3	100.0	94.5	93.5
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent acts	106	221	147	223	130	144	77	79	58	75	135	137	117	1699
Rate per program (R/P)	4.8	7.4	6.1	5.2	7.5	7.6	4.8	7.2	3.1	4.2	5.2	7.6	6.9	5.9
Rate per hour (R/H)	21.2	31.6	15.6	12.9	18.0	29.4	15.7	20.6	10.5	16.7	24.9	28.4	25.5	19.5
Duration-violent acts (hrs)	--	--	--	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	4.7
ROLES (% LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (hurt others)	66.7	71.6	57.1	36.6	53.8	78.0	44.4	60.9	38.5	53.5	42.5	77.8	57.4	53.9
Victims (are hurt)	76.2	92.5	71.4	66.2	75.4	82.9	60.0	82.6	48.1	60.5	65.8	88.9	89.4	72.8
Involved in violence (%V)	81.0	95.5	78.6	76.1	84.6	90.2	71.1	91.3	69.2	74.4	76.7	98.1	93.6	82.1
Killers	4.8	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.7
Killed	4.8	3.0	1.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Involved in killing (%K)	9.5	4.5	1.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.5
Violent : Victim Ratio	-1.14	-1.29	-1.25	-1.81	-1.40	-1.06	-1.35	-1.36	-1.25	-1.13	-1.55	-1.14	-1.55	-1.35
Killer : Killed Ratio	1.00	1.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+0.00	0.00	-1.40
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE														
Program Score: PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)	138.4	177.9	139.4	131.6	142.7	173.9	134.8	146.5	116.7	136.2	152.5	172.0	158.9	145.2
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	90.5	100.0	80.4	76.8	84.6	90.2	71.1	91.3	69.2	76.7	76.7	100.0	93.6	83.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	228.9	277.9	219.7	208.4	227.3	264.2	205.9	237.8	185.9	212.9	229.2	272.0	252.5	228.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample

Table 16

Components of Images of Violence Index

	Percent Overestimating Chances of Involvement in Violence			Percent Agreeing that Women are More likely to Be Victims Of Crime			Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or not Safe at all			Percent Saying that Fear of Crime Is a very Serious Problem			Percent Agreeing that Crime is Rising		
	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma
Overall	71	+10	.14***	72	+10	.18***	55	+11	.10***	20	+9	.12***	94	+4	.30***
controlling for:															
Age															
18-29	76	+14	.28***	73	+6	.11**	49	+11	.09**	16	+11	.21***	93	+4	.27***
30-54	68	+9	.11**	70	+10	.18***	53	+12	.09***	17	+11	.12***	96	+3	.27**
over 55	71	+4	.07*	77	+10	.22***	65	+9	.06*	31	+1	-.01	96	+4	.38***
Education															
No College	76	+7	.13***	70	+12	.20***	58	+10	.07***	24	+8	.11***	94	+3	.28***
Some College	63	+9	.10*	76	+7	.06	49	+9	.07*	13	+5	.09*	91	+5	.22**
Newspaper Reading															
Sometimes	75	+14	.25***	70	+15	.26***	58	+17	.10***	23	+11	.14***	96	+4	.27***
Everyday	69	+7	.10***	74	+17	.13***	53	+8	.09***	18	+8	.11***	95	+4	.36***
Race															
White	69	+10	.13***	73	+9	.17***	53	+10	.08***	17	+10	.14***	96	+4	.29***
Non-White	86	+7	.25**	70	+12	.21**	72	+16	.09*	46	-6	-.07	95	+4	.37**
Urban Proximity															
City over 250,000	69	+10	.13**	77	0	-.00	71	+14	.19***	26	+20	.19***	98	+10	.52***
City under 250,000	74	+3	.05	64	+24	.42***	59	+8	.04	22	+5	.09*	89	.11	.57***
Suburban	67	+13	.18***	75	.10	.19***	50	+13	.13***	19	+10	.12***	96	+2	.13
Non-Metropolitan	77	+8	.13**	70	+9	.17***	51	+7	.01	18	+2	.08**	98	0	.10
Income															
under $10,000	84	0	.04	67	+18	.32***	61	+14	.10***	35	-2	-.00	96	+4	.51***
$10,000 - $25,000	68	+8	.12***	74	+6	.12***	55	+6	.04	16	+9	.16***	92	+5	.35***
over $25,000	62	+18	.13**	76	0	-.03	49	+1	-.01	10	+16	.11**	96	+1	-.13
Sex															
Male	68	+8	.09**	68	+10	.20***	38	+16	.16***	21	+4	.07**	95	+2	.07
Female	76	+8	.13***	78	+6	.14***	73	+1	-.01	20	+12	.14***	94	+5	.55***

1

"On the average weekday, about how many hours do you personally watch television?"
Light: under 2 hours
Medium: 2 - 4 hours
Heavy: over 4 hours

2

Percent Light Viewers = percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

3

CD = Cultivation Differential: percent of heavy viewers minus the percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

* $p \leq .05$ (tau)

** $p \leq .01$ (tau)

*** $p \leq .001$ (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 17: Percent who are High Scorers on an Index of Sexism

	Total		Television Viewing: Light		Medium		Heavy		CD (%Heavy-%Light)	gamma	Total N
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N			
Overall	34	(2160)	31	(477)	33	(948)	38	(735)	+ 7	.098***	(6309)
controlling for:											
Age											
18 - 29	22	(358)	20	(71)	20	(139)	25	(148)	+ 5	.100*	(1655)
30 - 54	29	(816)	27	(211)	30	(393)	33	(212)	+ 6	.087**	(2772)
55 and over	52	(976)	51	(192)	51	(412)	55	(372)	+ 4	.061	(1860)
Sex											
Male	34	(933)	30	(219)	33	(444)	37	(270)	+ 7	.099**	(2786)
Female	35	(1227)	32	(258)	33	(504)	39	(465)	+ 7	.095***	(3523)
Race											
White	33	(1816)	29	(404)	32	(810)	39	(602)	+10	.138***	(5440)
Non-white	40	(344)	51	(73)	40	(138)	34	(133)	-17	-.193***	(869)
Education											
No college	42	(1763)	45	(359)	41	(758)	42	(646)	- 3	-.025	(4163)
Some college	18	(389)	16	(116)	18	(187)	22	(86)	+ 6	.120*	(2130)
Income											
under $10,000	47	(931)	50	(191)	47	(374)	45	(366)	- 5	-.052	(1990)
$10,000-$19,999	34	(659)	31	(142)	33	(306)	37	(211)	+ 6	.077	(1958)
over $20,000	21	(397)	19	(114)	20	(195)	23	(88)	+ 4	.069	(1927)
Political Orientation											
Conservative	40	(686)	38	(178)	38	(302)	48	(206)	+10	.111**	(1693)
Moderate	34	(716)	31	(130)	34	(323)	37	(263)	+ 6	.073	(2077)
Liberal	28	(434)	21	(89)	28	(190)	33	(155)	+12	.183***	(1572)

* p< .05
** p< .01
*** p< .001

Data Source: NORC 1975, 1977, 1978, 1982, and 1983 General Social Surveys
Television Viewing: Light -- under 2 hours; medium -- 2 to 4 hours; heavy -- over 4 hours

The Role of Fantasy in the Response to Television

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An impressive amount of daily cognitive activity is fantasy in nature. People dream, daydream, engage in reverie, read novels and attend the theater, the movies and view television. The world of "make-believe" and imaginative play is central to their lives as children; and, as adults, they may also participate in dramatic play and perhaps construct stories as an avocation or vocation, or in response to a class assignment or a Thematic Apperception Test card. The principal thesis of this paper is that an understanding of the functions of fantasy activities is critical to an understanding of the influence of television and other media upon behavior.

Despite the frequency in which fantasy behaviors are engaged, it is only within recent years that they have begun to receive systematic attention (Klinger, 1971; Singer, 1966, 1973). The discovery that dreams can be monitored through eye movements and electroencephalogram waves (Dement, 1965; Kleitman, 1963) has undoubtedly contributed both to the scientific respectability of the investigation of fantasy and, more importantly, to the development of methods that permit the assessment of some components of fantasy activity. The resurgence of interest in the role of imagery in learning (Paivio, 1971), the use of fantasy in behavior desnesitization procedures (Lazarus, 1971), work on right brain functions (Bogen, 1973, Gazzaniga, 1967), and, more generally, the increasing importance of cognition in contemporary theorizing and research (Weiner, 1972) also provide a stimulus and context for the study of the amorphous, private imageries and associations which characterize fantasy activity.

These developments foster a change in approach to the study of fantasy behavior--from asking what fantasies mean or signify to questions of the psychological role or functions of fantasy behavior. Psychologists, by and large, have utilized fantasy expressions such as TAT stories, myths, dreams and doll play for assessment purposes, as indirect indices of response tendencies and motivation which the story teller, the dreamer or child at play may be unable or unwilling to reveal. Fantasies were utilized as a "window" to the unconscious, revealing feelings and desires that were otherwise inaccessible. The principal empirical issue was the relationship between fantasy content and actual social behavior--the degree to which fantasy content was representational of or compensational for overt actions (Kagan & Lesser, 1961).

There are, of course, implicit in the use of fantasy for assessment or diagnostic purposes, assumptions regarding the functions of fantasy, particularly the psychoanalytic hypothesis of wish fulfillment. However, neither the psychoanalytic conception of fantasy as a mode of substitute satisfaction, or the theory that fantasy is a mechanism for the dissipation of surplus tension or the more cognitive views which emphasize its mastery functions are clearly articulated from a theoretical standpoint or have,

as yet, much in the way of empirical support. Research and theory in this area are not sufficiently well developed to specify the properties of a fantasy activity that are necessary in order for that activity to have a particular effect or function.

The term, "fantasy," embraces a wide range of behaviors that vary along a number of significant dimensions. At the descriptive level, what they appear to have in common is a quality of unreality. They are activities which are not in any obvious sense perceived by the subject as problem solving or goal directed (Klinger, 1971). However, whether the fantasy experience provided by observing a half-hour television show should be functionally similar to the fantasy experience provided by a half-hour of playing with toys is not theoretically apparent. Yet, it is quite likely that the degree of motoric involvement in a fantasy experience probably has a significant influence on the effect of that experience. Related variables which are also likely to be of some importance are the degree of activity-passivity and the extent to which the fantasy is self-initiated. Fantasies also vary in their degree of elaboration, in their richness, in the extent to which they go beyond the properties of stimulus that may have initiated the fantasy. And, as we will attempt to demonstrate, a particularly critical dimension is the extent to which the fantasy is construed as a reality experience.

It is noteworthy that, by and large, research and theory on media effects have tended to neglect the fantasy aspects of the transaction between a program and a respondent. Television studies, for example, rarely examine the fantasy components of a stimulus or a response. Yet, from the perspective of the student of drama, the fictional nature of dreams is essential to the dramatic experience (Olson, 1961). While the view expressed by Coleridge when he said that the proper response to fiction requires a "willing suspension of disbelief" is not altogether descriptive of the behavior of audiences who are all too quick to notice improbabilities in plot or incident (Olson, 1961), it does convey the complexity of the cognitive mechanisms involved in the response to a dramatic experience. The viewer is somehow able to act at one level as if the presented material were real, while "knowing" at another level that it is actually fictional.

There is an important sense, of course, in which all communication lacks reality. The written symbol is not the object it represents nor is the television newscast the same as the real event it is intended to depict. Nevertheless, there is a difference in the impact of pictorial representations which are perceived to be real and those which are judged as fantasy or symbolic. Fantasy in the form of play and drama, can be a means of expressing impulses and ideas for which neither author nor audience need assume personal responsibility. Children learn to discriminate between fantasy and reality, between the wish and the deed, between thought and action. Very young children may not be able to make this discrimination and sometimes the line between fantasy and reality is ambiguous.

However, when the difference between fantasy and reality is discriminable, it should make a profound difference in the character of the response. Tell a child who is watching an aggressive sequence that what he or she thought was a drama actually happened, and note the change in response.

The depiction of reality, as in television news reports, describes the world as it is. It serves as a direct source of information about how people behave and about the kinds of behavior that are reinforced and socially sanctioned. Probably, for many children, television news programs or documentaries cannot easily be discarded when they leave the television set for the "real" world, since they have been exposed to a clearly labeled mirror of the real world. When watching a fictional program, however, the child can more readily restrict the experience to the television viewing situation and, in some circumstances, can freely engage in vicarious aggressive expression without fear of punishment. These considerations lead to the expectation of important qualitative differences in the response to the depiction of actual aggression by the media as compared to fantasy aggression. In general, the depiction of fantasy aggression should tend to lower or leave unaffected a child's action out of aggressive tendencies. The depiction of real aggression, especially when that aggression is reinforced, should tend to facilitate aggressive behavior through such processes as imitation, instruction and disinhibition.

The Differential Effects of Reality vs. Fantasy Depiction of Aggression

In an initial effort to obtain evidence bearing on the hypothesized functional difference between the observation of real and fictional violence, the effects of observing newsreel and dramatic depictions of similar content (e.g., war) on children's aggressive behavior in a laboratory situation were compared (Feshbach, 1972). These experimental comparisons yielded ambiguous findings, in part because of the fact that dramatic and fictional presentations of a similar theme will vary along many dimensions besides the level of reality of the depicted content. Because of this difficulty an alternative experimental approach was undertaken in which the same violent film was employed but under clearly different set conditions such that in one experimental treatment the subject believed that the TV film was of a real event, while in another treatment, the subject was shown the same film but was led to believe that it was fictional (Feshbach, 1972).

The subjects were children, drawn from a reality set or a fantasy set. Children assigned to the Reality Condition were told "We are going to show you a newsreel of a student riot which was photographed by NBC news photographers who were right on the scene. You might have seen some of this on the news on television before." In contrast, children assigned to the Fantasy Condition were told the following: "We are going to show you a film that was made in a Hollywood studio. The story is about a student riot. You might have seen some of the actors on television before." Both Fantasy and Reality Set groups saw the same film--a six-minute sequence combining

elements of a real and movie version of a campus riot. This six-minute film combines elements of a real campus riot and a television story about a campus riot. It opens with part of a scene shown in the news-police violence segment, showing arrests and a massed police line facing the demonstrators. Leaders of the demonstration attempt to control and direct the crowd, urging them to avoid confrontation with the police. The police march in formation to attack the demonstrators with their clubs. The film cuts to a scene from the campus violence movie The Whole World is Watching. The demonstrators have established a "sit-in" in the building and police watch outside as a crowd chants. After nightfall, a large number of police arrive and enter the building and arrest those inside. As the arrested demonstrators are taken to waiting police cars, the crowd outside chants, "Pigs off campus."

Following the presentation of the film, the children completed a brief questionnaire about the film and then, in the guise of a "guessing game," were given the opportunity to aggress against one of the experimenters whenever the latter made an error by presumably subjecting him to different degrees of aversive noise. The intensity varied from a soft sound to a highly aversive sound which, as the experimenter explained to the child, was "so loud and painful" that he did not even want to demonstrat it to him. The average intensity of sound, administered over 15 error trials, constitute the primary measure of aggression.

While the same campus riot film was shown to the Fantasy and Reality Set groups, their reaction to the film, as reflected by the aversive noise measure, was quite disparate. It can be seen from Table 1 that the mean aggression for the Reality Set Condition is almost twice the level of the Fantasy Set mean, the difference between the two conditions being highly significant ($p<.001$). This difference holds for boys, for girls, for each socio-economic level and for all age groups. Comparisons of the Reality and Fantasy Set groups with a control group that had not been exposed to any television are particularly instructive. The Reality and Fantasy means differ significa[illegible], in opposing directions, from the no-television control group mean. These data indicate that the Reality Set condition stimulated aggression while the Fantasy Set condition reduced aggressive behavior; that is, the same aggressive film had diametrically opposite effects depending upon whether the child believed the film was real or fictional.

There are two effects that need to be explained—stimulation of aggression associated with the Reality Set and reduction of aggression associated with the Fantasy Set. There are a number of possible explanations that might account for the stimulation effect. These include the displacement of aggression as a result of being aroused by the film, disinhibition and modeling of aggression as a result of observing socially approved aggressive behavior. Of particular theoretical relevance, in terms of the function of fantasy, is the reduction in aggression that took place when the children believed that the campus riot was fictional. The label "fantasy"

apparently acted as a discriminative stimulus, eliciting a differential set of reactions than the label "real."

However, the nature of these differential reactions has only been described in general terms and requires more specific delineation. We need to be able to specify the circumstances under which the fantasy label is important. For example, one might reasonably conjecture that the fantasy label should make little difference in the response of a pre-school age child to the depiction of aggressive interactions on television in as much as the discrimination between fantasy and reality has not yet been well established at this age level.

Secondly, we need to identify the properties of television stimuli which lead to the perception and labeling of the television presentation as real or fictional. The explicit label given to a program e.g., documentary, play, "any resemblance to persons living or dead is purely coincidental", is not the only factor determining how the program will be apprehended by the audience. Content and stylistic or structural variables will also affect the reality-fantasy properties of a stimulus. The stereotyped Western and the battle fought in outer space, no less than cartoon characterization, have an important fantasy component. The degree of detail and explicit depiction of violent, martial arts is probably another important stimulus dimension determining the extent to which the stimulus is perceived as depicting a real event and as being appropriate for imitation and modeling. One might conjecture that the greater the detail presented, the closer the stimulus in question becomes an approximation of reality--the communication shifts from a fantasy or story to a "how to" message. It is the latter type of program that is likely to "teach" violence to children.

The Multi-dimensional Structure of Aggressive Media Content

The fantasy-reality dimension is of course only one of a number of parameters that should be taken into account when attempting to evaluate the impact of TV aggression upon the attitudes and behavior of an audience. There are many other important program factors, including the degree to which aggression is reinforced or punished, the circumstances under which aggressive acts occur, and the tension-inducing versus tension-reducing properties of the story sequence (Tannenbaum, 1972). In addition, some recent data analyses that we have carried out indicate that there are systematic differences among children in their preferences for particular types of aggressive programs, and it seems reasonable to hypothesize that these differences in preferences may mediate differences in the impact of these programs. The program preference analysis was based on data obtained during the Feshbach and Singer (1971) experimental field study. The participants in this study indicated the degree of like-dislike on a six point rating scale of each program they observed over the six week period. After eliminating those programs that were infrequently seen, the

preference ratings were intercorrelated and the resultant correlation matrix was factor analyzed.[1]

The analysis of the program preferences of the experimental group which had been assigned primarily aggressive programs to observe, yielded four factors. Two of these factors, factor 1 and factor 4, can both be labeled as "Western"types, with Bonanza, Branded, Twelve-o'clock High and Honey West being among the programs with high loadings (above .5) on factor 1, and Laredo, Jesse James and Batman appearing on factor 4. The psychological difference between these two factors is not apparent--perhaps the critical discrimination lying in the sex difference between the central characters in Honey West and Batman. Each of the other two factors constitutes a psychological distinct group. Factor 2 has a clear "crime-fighting" component (F.B.I. and The Untouchables) while factor 3 has a dominant fantasy, science fiction element (Outer Limits, Twilight Zone). We are currently exploring the personality correlates of these factor preferences and possible differences in aggressive reactions to these different types of programs.

One cannot infer from the finding of systematic differences in subjects' preferences for particular classes of aggressive programs that there are systematic differences in aggressive reactions to these programs: However, it seems very likely that the preference for programs in a particular aggressive category has some functional significance, although it is possible that whether a youngster likes science fiction, Westerns or crime fighting is merely an arbitrary matter of taste, like a preference for rice crispies versus corn flakes. At the very least, the factor analytic results indicate that considerable caution must be exercised in making generalizations about the effects of aggressive thematic content per se. Empirical evidence regarding the effect of different categories of aggression programs as well as different dimensions or parameters of the program presentation is required. It is quite possible that programs in one category such as crime-fighters may tend to stimulate aggressive behaviors while Western and science fiction fare have little effect or even opposite, moderating consequences. Moreover, the effects of these program types may further vary as a function of variations in the preference of the audience.

The analysis of even this limited data set makes evident the multifaceted and multivariate nature of the issues involved when one attempts to determine the meaning and impact of exposure to aggressive TV content. One has to distinguish and assess the interaction between realatively stable aggressive personality dispositions and the aggression eliciting properties of a program. A further distinction is required between the normative effects of different types of aggressive programs--e.g., programs representing each of the four factors, and the effects of exposure to a preferred versus non-preferred progran type. And the factor analysis that has been reported is only one way of differentiating among different types of aggressive

program. Thus, within each factor grouping, there are variations in not only the frequency, intensity and reinforcement of depicted aggressive interactions but also in the fantasy-reality dimension. Although science fiction programs tend to have a strong fantasy component, some versions may be very realistically presented. In like manner, while crime fighter programs may tend to be higher on the reality dimension, in some instances the style and story development may facilitate the apprehension of the program as largely fantasy.

Further, the extent to which a stimulus is perceived as real or as fantasy is not determined solely by the properties of the stimulus. The apprehension of a stimulus as real or fantasy, or at some level in between, is a cognitive process influenced, of course, by characteristics of the stimulus. It is also influenced by characteristics of the perceiver or audience. These may be generalized personality dispositions such as the inability to discriminate between fantasy and reality (e.g., some paranoid schizophrenics, very young children). Other relevant individual dispositional variables relate to particular personal experiences of the viewer. Thus a film depicting aggressive delinquent actions of an urban gang may appear as a fantasy to a rural child but from the perspective of low income city dwellers, may seem directly relevant to their daily lives.[2] What is perceived as fantasy, then, and what is experienced as reality may vary with the viewer.

Fantasy Processes and the Reduction of Aggression

The fantasy-reality variable, like many cognitive processes which are assumed to intervene between stimulus and action, is not a simple, easily assessed contruct. In addition, its behavioral properties require further elaboration and much more empirical testing. However, despite the imprecision in definition and in theoretical functions that currently prevails in regard to fantasy processes, the fantasy-reality distinction offers an initial step toward a more discriminating understanding of the attractions and effects of the mass media.

To be sure, there are symbolic representations transmitted through television and other media that are directly related to the behavioral enactment of these representations. Children and adults can learn aggressive solutions to conflict from some aggressive television content; certain children may acquire aggressive response tendencies through identification with aggressive heroes; aggressive representation on television can serve to stimulate and disinhibit aggressive response tendencies in the audience; incessant bombardment of the television audience with realistic, detailed depictions of violence and its consequences may ultimately produce indifference to these consequences in reality as well as on film, and thereby brutalize the television audience. Yet these processes, all leading to the prediction that the depiction of aggression interactions on television will result in an increment in aggressive behavior in the audience, by no means exhaust the psychological mechanisms operating

when a viewer observes television content, particularly dramatic content which is readily construed and understood as a fantasy representation.

It is these latter processes that are relevant to an understanding of those findings reflecting decrements in aggressive behavior following exposure to aggressive content on television. Having previously enumerated some of the conditions which determine the degree to which a television representation is experienced as fantasy, we turn now to an examination of the specific processes by which diverse fantasy experiences can help regulate aggressive behavior (Feshbach & Feshbach, 1972). One can distinguish at least five mechanisms by which a fantasy experience can produce a diminution in aggression.

1. Substitute Goal

The most widely considered process, and the one which has occasioned the most controversy, is the hypothetical substitute goal function of fantasy. This assumption is still a basic tenet in psychoanalytic theory. In the case of aggression, the fantasy experience is assumed to serve as a substitute for the direct aggressive goal response of infliction of pain and thereby reduce the intensity of aggressive drive. Psychoanalytic theory is not very specific on the characteristics which a fantasy may require in order to have substitute goal value. From a psychoanalytic standpoint, almost any type of cognition--a verbal symbol, a percept, a fantasized goal response, an elaborate ideational sequence, can serve this function. Of all of the mechanisms to be enumerated, the substitute goal function of fantasy, without further specification of the nature of the fantasy, is the most theoretically ambiguous.

There is little empirical evidence that can be cited which directly supports the hypothesized substitute goal function of fantasy. Also, considerable skepticism has been expressed on an a priori level concerning the credibility of this assumed process. To many critics it seems unlikely that the observation, on television, of acts of aggression directed towards some fictional villain could materially reduce one's motivation to aggress against an actual villain or provocator. If one is angered by another person, one may be attracted to fantasies of retaliation but these fantasies may not affect one's drive to retaliate. To use an older but apt theoretical description, these aggressive fantasies may have high attractiveness or substitute valence but very little substitute value. However, it is possible that aggressive fantasies may reduce aggresive motivation through several of the other mechanisms to be elaborated upon.

2. Expressive Value

Closely related to but theoretically distinct from the substitute goal hypothesis is the potential emotional expressive function of fantasy. The expression of affect must be distinguished from motivated behavior derived from that affect. For example, statements such as "I am angry," "you make me mad" or stamping of the feet, pounding

of the fist, snarling and relaxed grimaces are expressions of anger. Statements as "you are stupid and despicable" or pressing a button which activates an electric shock device, or engaging in a physical assault, more closely resemble aggressive motivated behavior. Of course, the latter may also be expressive of anger. However, the critical point is that anger can be expressed and communicated without necessarily inflicting injury or destruction. Thus, while fantasizing injury to some provocator may not be a substitute for the actual infliction of injury, it still may provide an opportunity for the expression of aggressive affect, in much the same sense as facial movements and overt vocalizations are used to express feelings. An important implication of this proposition is that a close connection or similarity between an aggressive fantasy and an anger-provoking stimulus is not necessary for the fantasy to produce a decrement in aggression toward that stimulus. The only requirement would be that the aggressive fantasy activity provide an opportunity for the expression of aggressive affect. I would suggest that the concept of catharsis can ultimately be best understood in terms of expression and discharge of affect through fantasy.

3. Inverse of Action

A more widely recognized cognitive function of fantasy is its vicarious relationship to action. Both psychoanalytic theory (Rapaport, 1959) and the Werner-Wapner (1952) sensori-tonic theory have postulated an inverse relationship between thought and action such that a restraint on motor action increases cognitive activity and, conversely, cognitive activity reduces the impulse to action. This process is especially important in the case of aggressive behavior because of its typically strong impulsive component. Here one needs to distinguish between aggressive behavior which is largely instrumental, as in the case of the child who deliberately pushes and shoves to be first in line and aggressive behavior which is also a response to strong emotions. The sensori-tonic function of fantasy is not likely to have any effect on instrumental aggression which involves deliberation and articulation of a goal but should help reduce the amplitude of affect mediated aggression. The child who is frustrated and angry has a propensity or impulse to lash out at the source of the frustration and anger. A reflective cognitive response helps the child delay acting on impulse. The cognitive response may be relatively simple, as in "counting to ten", or may take the form of an elaborate aggressive fantasy. The cognitive activity may directly reduce the strength of the instigation, as sensori-tonic theory would suggest, and/or may act as a stimulus for other cognitions which may lead to a reconsideration of the situation and review of alternative modes of behavior.

It should be noted that unlike the case for the expressive discharge of anger which is probably best served by an aggressive fantasy, the cognitive control or delay function of fantasy behavior can be served by non-aggressive as well as aggressive fantasies. However, an aggressive, angered individual may be more attracted to and/or prefer aggressive fantasies over non-aggressive ones (the substitute valence aspect of

fantasy), and, for that reason, aggressive individuals are more likely to utilize aggressive fantasies--whether internally stimulated or externally stimulated through television, for the control of aggressive behavior.

4. Positive Reinforcement

A mediating process, related to but quite distinct from the aggressive substitute goal function, is the satisfaction one may derive from imaginative fights, whether self or media generated. The child engaging in a classic Walter Mitty fantasy may experience pleasure. Simply conjecturing consequences of various possible actions may also be a rewarding cognitive activity. When aggressive fantasy is elicited, the ability to conjecture images of physical prowess without anxiety or embarrassment, or to feel mastery over one's impulses as well as power over others may be an especially satisfying cognitive experience. In the case of media generated fantasies, this satisfaction is augmented by whatever additional enjoyment is derived from the "entertainment" value of the stimulus. Since the generated positive affect is incompatible with feelings of frustration, annoyance, and related aggression-evoking stimuli, this type of cognitive activity should lead to a decrement in aggressive behavior. It should be noted that the content of the fantasy does not have to be aggressive in order to produce this effect.

The positive affective state produced by fantasy activity, in addition to being incompatible with aggression-instigating stimuli, has another property which could result in a diminution of aggressive, acting out behavior. The evocation of positive affect should reinforce whatever behavior led to the satisfying state of affairs--in this instance, a fantasy response. One could argue that reinforcement of an aggressive fantasy response could generalize to actual aggressive behavior. However, I suggest that where there is a discriminable difference between fantasy and reality, strengthening of the fantasy response should decrease the probability of a non-fantasy act, certainly a proposition open to empirical verification. It is also important to note that fantasie may vary in the degree of satisfaction they provide and some are more frustrating and tension arousing than they are satisfying. However, to the extent that these fantasies provide satisfaction, whether from reduced anxiety, feelings of mastery, or entertainment value, they should result in lowered aggression.

5. Cognitive Restructuring

A more obvious mechanism through which cognitive activity can reduce aggression is the opportunity for restructuring, evaluation and rational decision making which thinking affords. The process of thinking allows for the analysis and recombination of events, new insights and the consideration of alternative modes of action. The opportunity for these processes would appear to be limited for media generated aggressiv fantasies. Most current television and movie fare do not provide new perspectives or insights. However, it is possible for drama in general, including the dramatic depiction

of violence, to enhance self-awareness and add to the understanding of the sources of one's own aggression. In a more modest sense, media depicted violence culminating in physical punishment and the loss of love objects may increase one's understanding of the aversive consequences of violence and thereby tend to reduce aggressive behavior.

To summarize, the fantasy experience provided by some television programs with aggressive content can control or reduce aggressive acting out behavior because the fantasy provides a substitute for aggression toward the actual target (unlikely), because it provides an opportunity for the expression of anger, because it functions as a cognitive control, becasue it is satisfying and enjoyable and because it may facilitate new insights and cognitive reorganization (the latter unlikely, given the curren state of TV fare). In enumerating the various processes which might mediate a decrement in aggression following a fantasy activity, we have only provided a bare outline of one set of possible relationships between fantasy and overt aggressive behavior. We have not considered the conditions under which a fantasy activity may stimulate and facilitate aggression and we have only touched upon the parameters which determine the degree of cognitive control resulting from each of the indicated mechanisms. A full theoretical and empirical analysis would require a specification of the content and structure of the fantasy, pertinent historical and other predispositional factors, and a comparable specification of the aggressive response as well.

The complexity and demands of this task underline how little is known about the psychological role and functions of drama, dreams and related amorphous fantasy experiences in human development and adjustment. But enough is known to suggest that the behavioral effects of witnessing the depiction of aggressive, violent acts on television are dependent upon program, contextual and personality variables, and that the analysis and study of the factors determining whether a program is apprehended as a fantasy and of the cognitive and motivational processes involved in fantasy activity would be a fruitful avenue to pursue.

[1]I want to express my appreciation to the joint Committee for Research on Television and Children for providing an additional grant to support this analysis. It should be gratuitous, but unfortunately is not, to point out that the grant from this Committee, which draws its funds primarily from television network sources, has no limiting clauses or hidden agenda. The author has, as did Feshbach & Singer in their field study grant, complete autonomy in the implementation of the study and in the analysis, interpretation and publication of the findings.

[2]It should also be noted that the contrary can occur; that because one has extensive and intimate experience with some action or issue depicted on television, one may be more prone to criticize it and reject the content as inaccurate and unreal.

Table 1

Mean level of aggressive response as a function of fantasy versus reality set

Reality set (N=20)	No TV (N=20)	Fantasy set (N=20)
4.30	3.40	2.29

Reality vs. fantasy	$F=23.05$, $p < .001$
Reality vs. No TV	$F= 5.39$, $p < .05$
Fantasy vs. No TV	$F= 6.14$, $p < .05$

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Social
RESEARCH and DEVELOPMENT
Programs

6103 Ellis Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23228

October 27, 1984

Senate Judiciary Committee, and
Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice
UNITED STATES SENATE
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Room 224
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senators:

Some details about your present concerns have been published in the Richmond Times Dispatch and I would like to make some comments that might prove helpful in your deliberations.

As for TV's Captain Kangaroo's statement that televised violence teaches children aggressive behavior, he is right.

As for Jib Fowles' opinion that "fantasy mayhem on the television screen . . . helps the child to discharge tensions and animosities," he is wrong. He echoes the ancient ancient theory of dramatic purgation announced by Aristotle in his Poetics, calling it "catharsis," but this theory is inapplicable under present conditions (indeed, if it ever was). In the mordern scene, children who have difficulty distinguishing fantasy from reality, do not vicariously vent accumulated stress--they become inured to violence because they experience so much of it, and seek increasing amounts of it for satisfaction--this is the key to what has been called the brutalization of society.

Another unfortunate result of this incessant exposure to TV violence is a growth within the psyches of very young people of an urge to do violence for the pleasure it affords, which might be called, in our society, the birth of sadism: and a sharp rise in the fear index. It is the avowed purpose of certain Hollywood types to evoke in the audience, in the name of greed (i.e., profit to backers) the intensest emotional reactions possible, giving no thought at all to the normal slow recovery rate that is healthy. The consequence is that truncated recovery is perverted into sadistic impulse. It is analogous to slow poisoning.

Jib Fowles said that children know the difference between "just pretend" and reality. No doubt this is true to a large extent when children are involved in their own play: however, how can children distinguish between other people's fantasying and reality? No one has yet been able to come up with a meaningful answer to that one. The increasing "realism" insisted upon by many directors of films makes it even more problematic: not even most adults can distinguish between what they see as "entertainment" and what is presented as "news." What does Jib Fowles have as a basis for making such an assertion? "Fantasy aggression via television can be the antidote to the child's real-world pressures and constraints." What nonsense.

But that is not the point. Jib Fowles' strategy has been to shift the focus of the inquiry. The real issue is how the emotions, not only of the child but also of the adult, are manipulated in unhealthy ways by the events depicted endlessly on television. In Bob Keeshan's words: "This (steady) diet of violence has . . . created an immunity to the horror of violence in a nation of viewers over the last quarter century . . . the young child may even come to believe that the use of violence is justified in problem-solving." This precisely echoes my point about the brutalization of our society.

Perhaps most of the 900 studies of TV violence in the last 30 years have been unscientific, as Fowles states, but I wonder how he can know that for certain. I doubt he knows all of them or has evaluated them sufficiently to be able to say whether they are scientific or not. But what about those few he agrees were scientific? Does he call for them to be discarded along with the rest? And must every study be scientific? Is subjective impression of no value at all? It was once a scientific fact that "all swans are white," and there were hundreds of sightings of white swans which proved the "fact." Yet it took only one sighting of a black swan in Australia to thoroughly destroy the law of whiteness.

Indeed, there is sufficient evidence to refute once for all Jib Fowles' contentions. By the way, what does he teach, "Wish-Fulfillment in Twinkie-Land"?

In seeking to excuse television from responsibility for the generation of violence-oriented attitudes, Philip Harding's statement that social conditions account for much violence can be sustained, provided that he is compelled to cease to ignore the fact that television constitutes a large part, and an overly influential part at that, of social conditioning: and that it is the stated purpose of television to influence the way people think and behave. What CBS claims to believe is clearly contrary to the evidence.

Senators, I hope this letter will prove to be of value in your deliberations.

Sincerely,

James C. Rogers
Director of Research

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October 29, 1984

Senator Arlen Specter
331 Hart Senate Office Building
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Specter:

The members of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry appreciate your interest in and support for improved television programming for children. The recent hearing held by the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, which you chair, will once again point out to broadcasters that there is widespread alarm over the amount of violence on television. In spite of protestations by witnesses who refuse to accept findings of major studies about the causal relationship between television violence and aggressive behavior, you have taken time to listen to children, their parents and teachers, and to professionals who understand the dangers. The Academy members share your concern and offer our cooperation in educating the public, as well as the broadcasters about the need to provide quality programming and reduce excessive violence.

The issues of television violence and the lack of adequate programming for children and adolescents have resulted in the appointing of a special Academy Task Force on Violence and the Media, which will soon complete its initial report. The report reinforces the issues that you raised at the hearing -- that television does not do a good job of serving children, and that even worse, the programming has a harmful effect on them. The report will also summarize current findings and call for additional action in the form of research, education, and cooperation among concerned professional groups. I will have a copy of the report sent to you when it is ready for distribution.

I am enclosing, for your information, an Academy press release which reviews the recent series of television programs on teenage suicide victims. The use of television to examine this tragedy is a related concern, and I know we share support for educating the public about what can be done to prevent teenagers from taking their lives.

Thank you again for your concern for children and the influence of television on their lives. I look forward to the Academy working with you and your staff on this and other issues of concern.

Sincerely,

Helen Beiser, M.D.
President

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 25, 1984

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

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John Blamphin, American Psychiatric Association, (202) 682-6138

MEDICAL ORGANIZATIONS LIST TEEN SUICIDE WARNING SIGNS

With strong concern about the recent increases in teenage and child suicide throughout the U.S., the American Academy of Child Psychiatry and the American

Psychiatric Association issue the following information about the warning signs of suicide in adolescents, and the contagious nature of teenage suicides, causing them to occur in clusters.

The broadcast of network television programs on adolescent suicide--"Hear Me Cry" on CBS, Wednesday, October 17; "Silence of the Heart" on CBS, Tuesday, October 30; and "Surviving" plus a half-hour educational program, on ABC, in January, 1985—makes it particulary important that parents, young people and others in the community be aware of this information at this time.

Even when producers include warning signs in a dramatization, viewers emotionally involved in the drama may miss them. The warning signs of adolescents who may try to kill themselves include many of the typical indications of the illness of depression:

- o noticeable change in eating and sleeping habits,
- o withdrawal from friends and family and from regular activities,
- o persistent boredom,
- o a decline in the quality of schoolwork,
- o violent or rebellious behavior,
- o running away,
- o drug and alcohol abuse,
- o unusual neglect of personal appearance,
- o difficulty concentrating,
- o radical personality change,
- o complaints about physical symptoms, often related to emotions, such as stomach ache, headache, fatigue, etc.

A teenager who is planning to commit suicide may also:

- o Give verbal "hints" with statements such as: "I won't be a problem for you much longer," "Nothing matters," "It's no use."
- o Put his or her affairs in order—for example, give away favorite possessions, clean his or her room, throw things away, etc.
- o Become suddenly cheerful after a period of depression.

Adolescents from families in which suicide has occurred or which have a history of drug or alcohol abuse, are more at risk.

Adolescents who attempt suicide often feel that no one needs them, that nobody cares. Teen suicides also may occur shortly after a loss of some kind—for example, the death of a friend or family member, breakup with a boyfriend or girlfriend, parental divorce.

The two organizations recommend that if children or teenagers watch a television program about teen suicide, parents join them in viewing the program and attempt to discuss it afterwards.

Depression and suicidal tendencies are treatable. Parents, brothers or sisters,

friends or teachers who notice any of the above warning signs should make an effort to discuss them with the child or teenager and seek professional help for that person if there is reason for concern.

The three organizations also want the public to be aware of the following information about adolescent suicide:

Events and studies show that media coverage of suicide may increase suicidal behavior in vulnerable youngsters. In movie representations of teenage suicide, portraying the suicide victims as attractive individuals or "stars" can intensify this effect.

There have been increasing reports of adolescent suicides occurring within the context of "cluster outbreaks." When one suicide occurs in a community, several suicides among young people attending the same high school or group of schools may result. Research shows that when this occurs, the young people have not always known each other, but may know of the deaths through media coverage.

A number of communities have witnessed this devastating phenomenon. The problem has led the Federal Government to establish a center for the study of cluster suicides at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia. In addition, the National Institute of Mental Health has established a suicide research unit which is sponsoring research on behavioral and biological risk factors for suicide in young people.

Research has demonstrated the suggestible nature of adolescents who attempt suicide. Adolescent psychiatric patients who attempt suicide are more likely to have a close relative or friend who has made a suicide attempt than other psychiatric patients who have not made a suicide attempt.

Events and studies involving adolescent suicides indicate that the suicides may occur shortly after exposure to the fictional treatment of suicide. While the provision of adjunctive "hot line" services may be helpful to a proportion of children who are exposed to such films, there is evidence that the population which makes the most use of hot lines—young females—is not the group which is most at risk.

When depression or suicidal feelings affect a young person, sources of help include the local medical society, child psychiatrists, pediatricians, psychiatrists, school counselors, and other mental health professionals.

The American Academy of Child Psychiatry, headquartered in Washington, D.C., has a membership of 3,000 physicians with at least five years of advanced training in general and child psychiatry, and sponsors a variety of programs to further the psychiatric care of children, adolescents and their families.

The American Psychiatric Association, based in Washington, D.C., represents nearly 30,000 psychiatrists who share a common interest in the continuing study of psychiatry and in the search for more effective ways to combat mental illnesses.

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